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The International Magazine May, 1949/35c

Herbert V. Evatt

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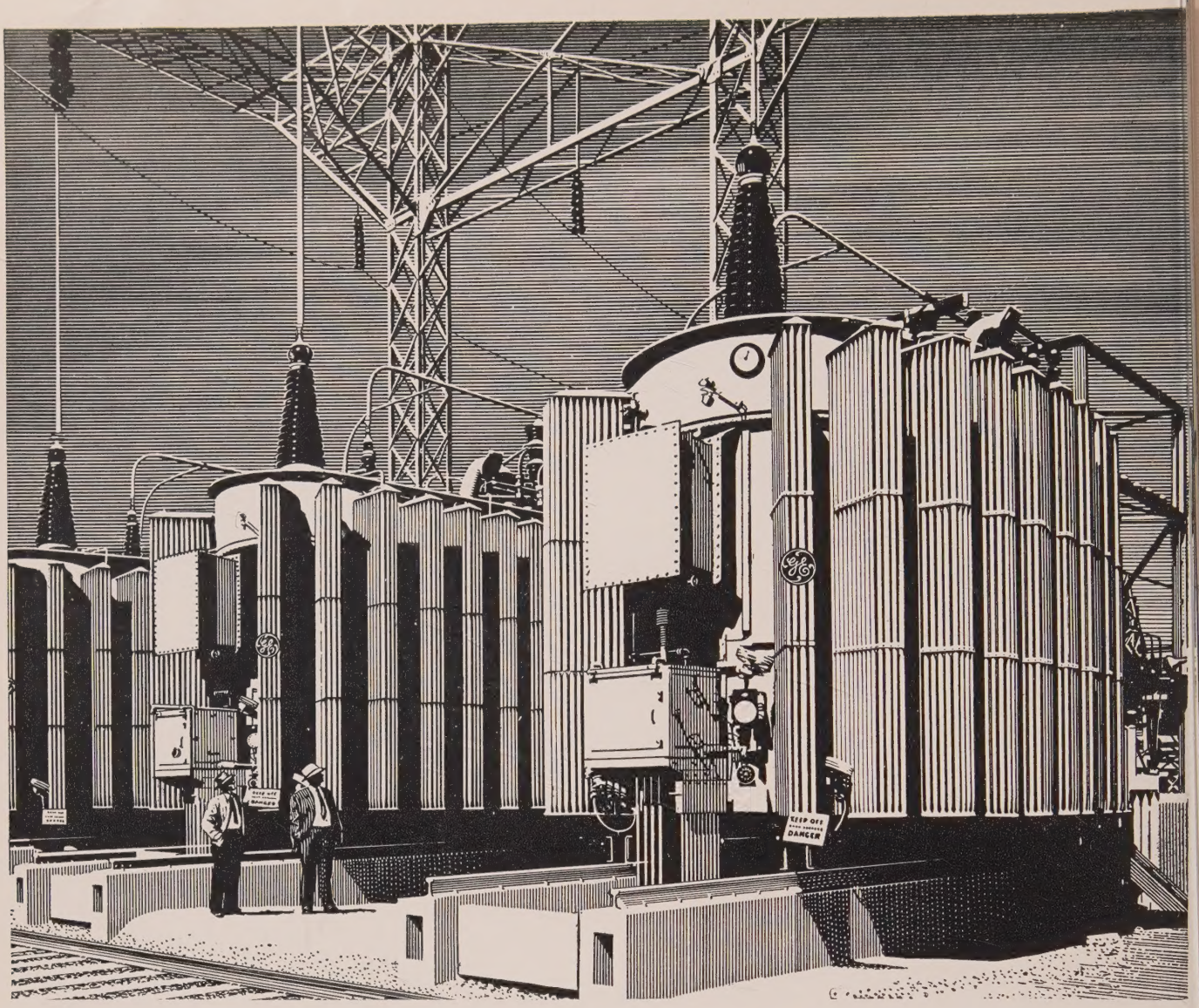
Oedipus—THE COMPLEX OF ALL MEN BORN OF WOMEN, AND ALL WOMEN SIRED BY MEN

You're Welcome—AN ENGLISHWOMAN'S "LOVE AFFAIR" WITH THE AMERICAN PEOPLE



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A UN World Letter

From 15 Seaports

THE fact that I am a painter does not qualify me to editorialize about international affairs; but it argues, perhaps, some ability to interpret emotions and attitudes.

I have recently returned from a trip on which I painted harbors in 15 countries. My work took me to the waterfronts. Some were orderly, well-policed; some tough and redolent of outlawry. The people I met were the common laboring—or non-laboring—elements of the dockside. The experiences I had are, I believe, significant because of the fineness of spirit they expressed—no matter what the other person's race, religion or nationality.

I saw much that suggested evil and injustice, of course. Evil forces are everywhere evident—but I want to tell what *happened* to me:

■ In London, I painted in the tough Limehouse district beside the Thames. As I worked, I was disturbed by a rough voice, "Here, Yank." A burly navvy pushed a mug of half and half into my hand—"Have a drink." Another, in flat cap with a handkerchief around his neck, brought me a burlap bag to sit on lest I "ketch a cold here in the damp." These were men whom I had not even spoken to as they watched me.

■ In Rotterdam my paint box blew off the pier and sank. Everywhere I was watched by the curious of the dockside. Here one came forward and drew me a detailed map showing the location of a store where I might replace my lost equipment. I spoke no Dutch and he spoke no English. His map led me to the one place in Rotterdam that had such supplies. I know, because later I looked and inquired.

■ In Oslo my audience one day was made up of commuters en route to a nearby ferry. A terrific, pelting rainstorm came up suddenly. Instead of running for the ferry, they tried to shelter me and my work and hurried me onto the ferry first.

■ In Stockholm an observant dock foreman noticed that the wind was giving me trouble while I was sketching at the airport. He brought me a paper clip and saying, "very much please," insisted that I keep it for future use. It came in very handy almost everywhere.

■ In Marseilles the spot from which I chose to paint was located in some war wreckage. To reach it I had to descend a cliff of broken concrete slabs, bristling with barbed wire and broken glass.

I found it treacherous going, though I am a relatively able-bodied man. At noon the owner of the property, a man with only one arm, climbed down to ask whether I had food. I told him that I had nothing but did not want to stop work. He left. But he returned with a huge French sandwich and a bottle of mint-flavored soda water. The sandwich looked awful and the soda poisonous, but the flavor of his consideration made it the best food in Marseilles. He was insulted that I even suggested paying him.

■ In Genoa I painted from the Maritime Observatory. One of the observers had a caller at midday. It was his fiancée who was bringing his lunch. There was no choice but to join them and share the meal intended for two. These were people who could ill afford to give anything away, but here also there was no thought of payment.

■ At Dakar my French air crew asked me to be their guest at the beach while our plane was being repaired.

■ At Rio I worked aboard a tanker and there was no denying the invitation of the Captain that I take lunch aboard ship. I have no idea what most of the food was but it was plentiful and very good. The sauce was human understanding and sympathy.

■ At Curaçao the Negro guards of a great company's property invited me to work from inside their quarters so that I might be shaded from the intense heat of the Caribbean sun.

We all admit that prejudices born of ignorance, superstition, religion or economic falsehoods manifest themselves all too frequently. But I am heartened to hope for world-wide co-operation by the fact that even those whom our society has treated most shabbily retain the basically good souls which appear to be man's most precious asset.

I am hypersensitive to the evils men heap on each other. It is no pleasure for me to see the tank cars of Italy hauling wine while milk is unavailable. I cannot enjoy the sight of ancient places remaining breeding capitals of filth, disease and ignorance, in the name of tradition and the beauties of the past. There is nothing picturesque about slums no matter how old. As a painter, I am a workman seeking literal truth. And the one universal truth I found among the docksiders of 15 diverse nations is that good will survives despite the fallacies that seem to dominate men's lives.

Perhaps the best proof I can offer is a final story of an experience in Algiers. I had completed my work for the day and got into a cab after asking the driver to take me to an uptown office. When he heard me speak he signalled to another Arab who got in alongside him. As soon as we started both Arabs turned to me with dark looks and asked whether I was English or American.

I took stock of the situation before answering. At the particular time of which I write Arab feeling against Americans was very strong. I decided that these two were out to frighten me with their own brand of hazing. I have no idea to what

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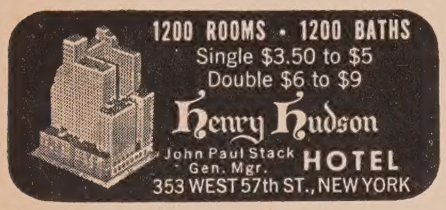

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UN World Letter *continued*

extent they would have gone and I am not very curious in that direction. I knew that if I had said that I was English that would be an end of it. Yet I felt that it would be scurvy to do that.

When I answered I said that I was American and asked why they wanted to know.

"Pourquoi cette guerre?" they retorted. They wanted to know why this war between the Arabs and the Zionists (not once in the discussion did they make reference to Jews). I said that the war was due to both peoples' lack of respect for the decisions of an organization to which they owed obedience and that they should try to have the decision changed at the United Nations if they felt it necessary.

I thought to myself, "Now you'll have it."

The driver growled: What was my religion? Was I Protestant or Catholic?

When I said that I was neither—that I was nothing—he argued that it was impossible. A man had to have some religion. I then explained that the only religion I held was in two words, Truth and Humanity. My two tough inquisitors thought awhile, then simultaneously their faces broke into very welcome smiles and they said that that was wonderful—that there were too many religions in the world anyway—that, if there were only one religion for all of mankind, much of man's troubles would be eliminated.

We drove the rest of the distance without conversation and when we arrived I tried to include a tip in my fare. The driver refused with a pleasant smile: *"Non, Monsieur, c'est pour l'Humanité."*

JOHN WEDDA

(Mr. Wedda was, prior to undertaking the assignment he tells of here, Art Director of UNITED NATIONS WORLD*—Ed.)*

Other Letters to the editors

Stamp of Approval

The governments of the US, Switzerland, Pitcairn Island and most all others continually put out stamps publicizing various individuals and events, but none concerning World Peace. It seems to me that a World Peace stamp would be of more importance than all the others put together. Why wouldn't it be a good idea to make 1949 World Peace Year by persuading our government and as many others as possible to design and use a Peace stamp for this year? I can't think of a better medium than postage stamps for constantly telling the planet's people that war has not been abolished yet. There would be no extra expense to the world's taxpayers.

W. F. Farrell
Chicago, Illinois

UNW of the Air?

While reading Pearl Buck's magnificent articles in UN World on China's problems, and her sensible suggestions for the solution of those problems, I've regretted exceedingly that such a few, comparatively, in our total population have the advantage of reading those ideas.

All America and all Americans need the kind of information that you give us each month—and it was impossible to find it, either printed or via Radio—with the exception of Bill Shirer—until UNW came along. I would like to suggest that in addition to the magazine UNW initiate its own radio program to inform the public.

MRS. R. M. WORLEY
Balboa, California

They Like Us In Japan

Your UNW is received in good condition through the courtesy of the International Monetary Fund, Washington. The contents of the magazine have been perused with very much interest and proved of great value as an unbiased general view of developments in the world, since we have very few opportunities to become acquainted with international situations.

YEISUKE ONO, Manager
Foreign Department
The Bank of Tokyo, Ltd.
Nihonbashi, Chuoku, Tokyo

The UN Projected

What do you see as the ultimate basis for a just and lasting peace? Do you think that it can be achieved by voluntary agreements between independent, sovereign nations, or do you see a world federation as the only ultimate hope? I believe in supporting the UN to the utmost now, but I am not satisfied to drop the matter at that point. While we are building the foundation, we should be developing plans for the complete building.

O.K. MERRITT, President
High School World Peace Study and Speaking Program, Inc.
Mount Airy, N. C.

We suggest that you read the article "A More Perfect Union," by Senator Warren R. Austin, Chief US Delegate to the UN, in UNW's April issue.—Editor.

Dutch Friend

At this time and especially in Holland more knowledge about the United Nations is necessary. We must realize how difficult it will be for them [UN], not with regard to the social work, but with regard to the political and international affairs. And we hope that the UNO will do all its utmost to look after a righteous solution for the Indonesian problem and give them their *whole* freedom. It will be a hard task for Holland, but as members of this body we should accept its resolutions.

LAURA HONK
Librarian
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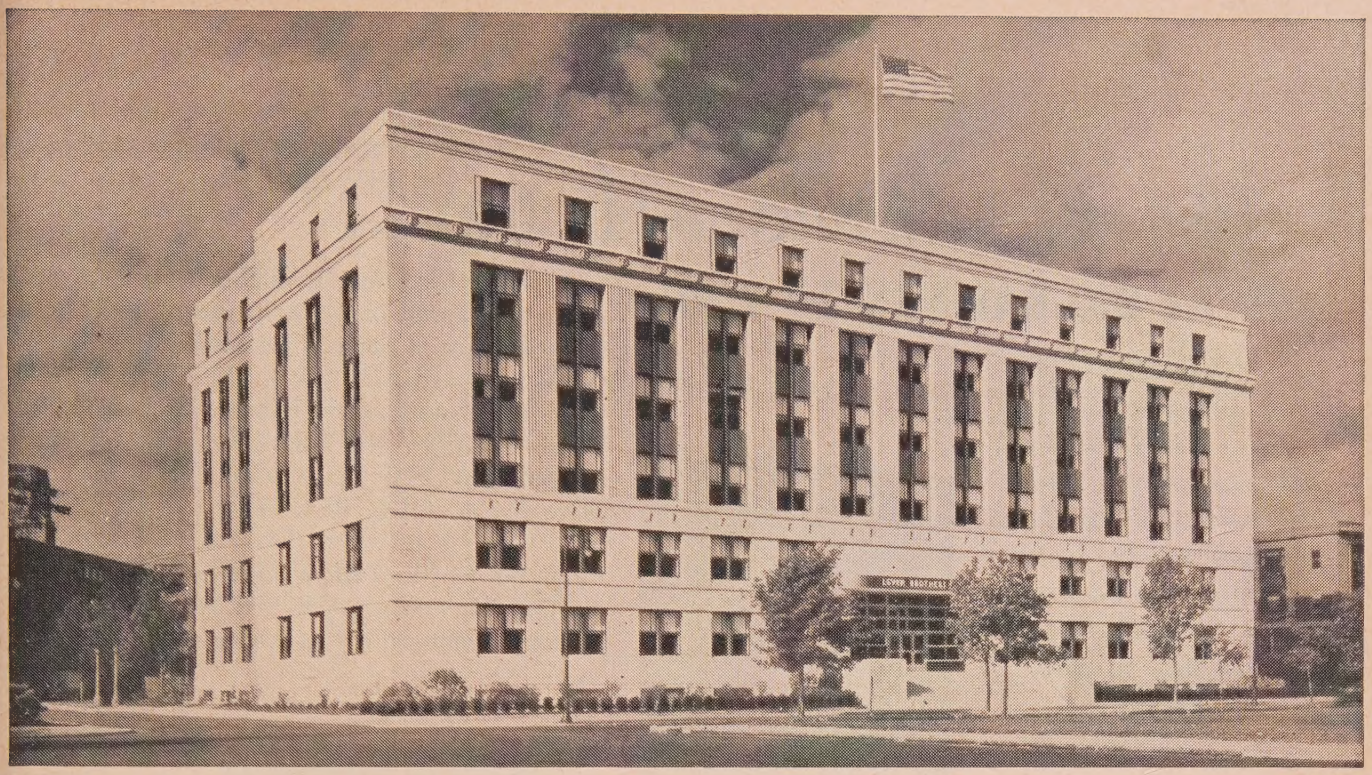

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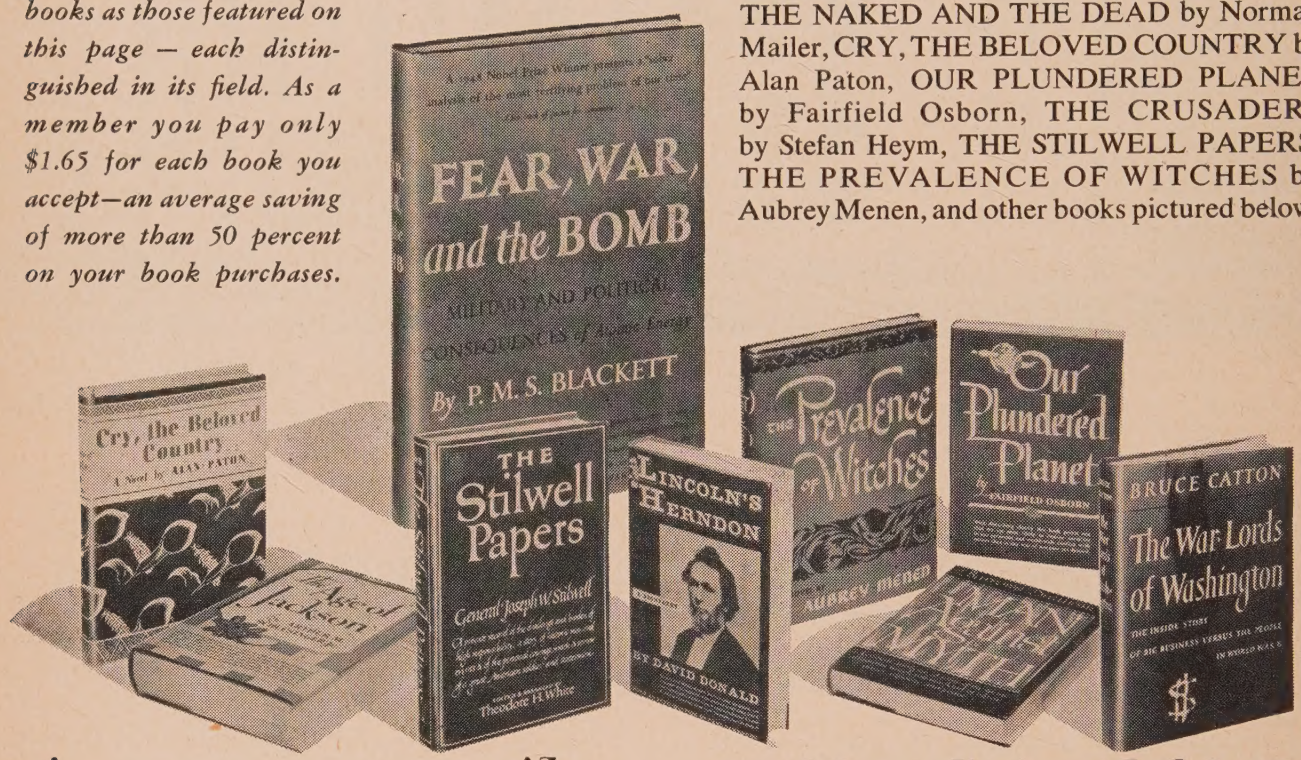

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THE COVER

IN MOSCOW, today as under the Czars, talented children receive state training in the difficult art of the ballet. The little girl on the cover, and her companions, attend the school maintained especially for these students.

UN WORLD THE INTERNATIONAL MAGAZINE

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STATE OF THE WORLD

BELGRADE

Heresy in Yugoslavia suggests that the US—not the USSR—will eventually lead the world into the promised land of Marx

NEW YORK

Paradox of war talk and peace action—Arms budgets rise but fears do not—Generals confer and diplomats debate—Which nation, East or West, will make the first conciliatory move?

LONDON

The pragmatic, business-as-usual British note French enthusiasm for a second Truman-Stalin tête-à-tête and in the Soviet bloc willingness to make sub rosa deals with the West

PARIS

French center, cheered by its own achievements, made glum by its new quandary: Who gets the guns?

MAY ANALYSIS

The score now stands 4-2 with the UN in control of overt small-nation threats to peace—but stumped by the cold war and Indonesia

NEW YORK

Peace Puzzle

A strange, and as yet unexplained, phenomenon is puzzling the chancelleries of the world; it is the ever-growing faith in peace amid ever-growing preparations for war.

■ Military budgets have been increased in the USA and the USSR, in Great Britain and in France, in Poland and in Czechoslovakia.

■ Generals, admirals and air force chiefs of both camps are flying virtually daily to and from conferences with their opposite numbers in friendly countries.

■ The situation in China is deteriorating hourly.

■ The Germans of the Western and Eastern zones have become the actual spokesmen for their respective masters, and are already talking as though they were running the show.

■ Violent propaganda campaigns between East and West continue unabated and the ink is hardly dry on the Atlantic Pact.

In these circumstances, seasoned diplomats are at a loss to explain how and why the world seems to be moving away from war instead of closer to it.

No conference has taken place between the major belligerents of the cold war, and yet a miracle of belief in a peaceful settlement is spreading. It is, one UN diplomat pointed out to UNW, almost like the situation in Palestine a few weeks before the armistice between the Arab nations and Israel. Arab proclamations and press communiques were then most violent—"no peace," "no armistice," they swore. At that very moment Arab representatives were packing bags for the trip to Rhodes.

The only question now, mused the diplomat, is to find out who will be the Arab in this situation. Which, East or West, will make the first real move toward sitting down at a table to talk things over and find some area of new agreement?

GUATEMALA CITY

Canal Trouble

Guatemala, which is in a constant fight with Nicaragua and its strong man Anastacio Somoza, is in an uproar over the proposal that the US

construct a canal in Nicaragua in exchange for strategic bases. Guatemalans implore the US Department of State not to act too hastily on Somoza's proposal, but to consult other Central American Republics before starting any kind of action.

HELSINKI

Elation

Finnish Government circles are jubilant over the exchange of letters between Prime Minister Joseph Stalin and Finnish Premier, Social Democrat Leader Karl-August Fagerholm. Mr. Stalin's utterly uncritical and warm greetings to Mr. Fagerholm, on the occasion of the signing of the Soviet-Finnish friendship treaty, has let the Finnish Communists down into complete bafflement.

For weeks and weeks they had stepped up attacks against the Fagerholm government, constantly encouraged by apparently solid support of *Pravda* and *Izvestia* and, particularly, by the Leningrad papers which increasingly voiced sharp, almost threatening, criticism of the way the Finnish Government was conducting its affairs. Stalin's letter, in one stroke, wipes out the effect of the press campaign. In it Prime Minister Fagerholm holds an invaluable trump card which he will be careful to play well.

STOCKHOLM

Salvation

Very privately, Swedish diplomats assert that the non-adherence of Sweden to the Atlantic Pact has saved Finland from Soviet occupation.

LONDON

Harry and Joe

In Great Britain there are intimations that the Labor Government, while it will tolerate no further advances by Russia, is willing to entertain any Russian proposal that might promise a genuine easing up of international tensions. The opposition, as represented by Mr. Anthony Eden, foreign policy chief of the Conservative Party, showed a similar preoccupation: "All these regional arrangements, good as they are, are not by themselves a solution of our problem. Positive constructive efforts to promote peace are needed."

In France, President Vincent Auriol is still flirting with the idea of making France host to a top-flight conference between President Truman and Generalissimo Stalin. With traditional Gallic ingenuity for find-

BELGRADE (via New York)

Time and Tito Confirm a Prediction

UN World is quite proud to record the justification of one of its major analyses and "firsts" on the Yugoslav situation. As far back as August, 1948, UNW explained that the break between Tito and the Soviet regime was final. The latest developments in Yugoslavia confirm completely our information and our analysis of that time.

Marshal Tito has made it clear that, while he still adheres to basic tenets of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, he will not under any condition accept subordination of his country—particularly orientation of its economy and its internal political structure—to the needs of the Soviet Union.

Ten months ago, UNW predicted that Tito's policies would result in the birth of a new concept of independent communism, a sort of international Titoism. Since then, Mr. Gomulka's elimination on the grounds of Titoism in Poland, the ousting of Albania's No. 2 man, Gen. Kotchi Drodze, and recently that of Deputy Prime Minister Taicho Kostov of Bulgaria, confirm the trend.

Today there are Titoists in all Eastern countries. They are people who are still convinced Communists, but do not accept the theory that eventual world federation of Communist states, or the present Soviet bloc, can or should be dominated by any one country. As a matter of fact, UNW is informed that Yugoslavian braintruster, Moshe Pijade, is toying with a theoretical statement which as yet has not gone beyond the stage of pleasant after-dinner conversation with Marshal Tito but which may soon be sprung on the world. When this new theoretical formulation of Mr. Pijade is sprung, it will have the effect of a terrific bombshell in Communist circles. Mr. Pijade's theory is simply that if ever a world federation of socialist states should come into existence, *the US would be infinitely more important in such a federation than the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.*

Mr. Pijade argues that socialism is not a doctrine in which seniority is accorded any particular rights. The fact that Russia was the first country with a socialist regime does not give her any special claim to leadership. What is decisive in such a society is: Which country has the technical and political know-how, the ability to advance farthest and fastest the welfare of all the people, with high standards of living and the creation of conditions for the establishment of a truly classless society?

Mr. Pijade thinks that highly industrialized countries, with gigantic production output, have a better chance to assume leadership in an eventual socialist world society than has the Soviet Union, which needs more help from its friends than it can give in return. It sells very expensively and buys as cheaply as possible, a laissez-faire practice scorned by Marxist theorists. The state of Russia's economy, Pijade argues, hardly permits it to export capital, goods or technical skill to other countries in sufficient measure to help them effectively.

When made official, this Pijade concept will constitute the first great propaganda victory for the Marshall Plan and Point 4—the endorsement of a Soviet-bloc state.

ing compromise formulae, some of Mr. Auriol's advisers believe that the way out of the dilemma—whether a tête-à-tête between Truman and Stalin as the Soviets suggest, or a meeting of the Big Four as the US insists—would be to have Truman and Stalin meet on French soil. While the meeting would start out between these two alone, it could swiftly be developed into a four-sided discussion by the simple strategem of having President Auriol invite Mr. Attlee to join his two distinguished guests; this could be the beginning of a general get-together.

Meantime, Soviet bloc states are pushing their trade deals with as many Western countries as they can with the evident encouragement of the Soviet Union.

Poland is at the top of the list, negotiating vigorously for new trade arrangements with England, and has just signed an important agreement with the Netherlands Government. Freedom for Indonesia or not, Poland and Holland will exchange goods up to the amount of $22 million each. Under this pact, Dutch rubber, tin, soap, coconut oil, electro-technical equipment and dyes will be exchanged for Polish coal, machinery, cement, paper, glass, chemical goods and ceramics.

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GENEVA

Hot Maybe—Cold No

The Soviet Union and the Eastern countries are still enthusiastic supporters of the UN Economic Commission for Europe. The atmosphere here is one of full economic co-operation. With the exception of occasional diatribes against the Marshall Plan—East-West relations proceed as if there were no such thing as a cold war.

NEW DELHI

Out of Purdah

Indian women's organizations are very proud of the first results of feminine participation in local elections. These results show that 32 women were elected presidents, and over 700 to the executive councils of different villages. After this breakthrough, it can be expected that women will be playing an increasing role in elections from now on.

SYDNEY

Non-Ideological

It looks almost certain that the old Australian road rule, "Keep to the Left" will soon be changed to "Keep to the Right."

PARIS

Looking Up

Prime Minister Queuille and the rest of the French Government are mighty proud of the record achieved by the Third Force.

Domestically, the Government has been able to resist successfully both the De Gaullist and the communist onslaughts, greatly improve its financial situation and assure ever mounting industrial production.

Internationally, France has bettered her second-rate position and has convinced US and even some British policy makers of her strategic military and political importance on the European continent.

Even so, the Government does not lack for worries, some old and familiar, others new and strange. Among the old ones are the dollar deficit and Indo-China. Reinstatement of ex-Emperor Bao Dai has not aroused any popular enthusiasm and the prospects for ending France's Asiatic civil war is now not promising. One of the new worries is that France does not know whom to entrust with the arms to be delivered by the US under the Atlantic Pact. Universal military service makes it impossible to exclude Communists from Army ranks. Government practice has not excluded them even from high official posts while Communist tactics—and common sense—suggest that many administrators and bureaucrats are secret CP members. Moreover, because of all this and because a third of all Frenchmen are openly Communists or sympathizers, it would be extremely difficult for France to conduct the sort of loyalty checks the US and UK have instituted.

LAKE SUCCESS

Improvement

World diplomats are watching closely what concrete steps Russia will take against the Atlantic Pact, and what the next US move might be, now that this treaty has been signed.

Despite all USSR diatribes against the pact at the UN, the denunciation by the Soviet press, and the violent attacks by pro-Soviet "world peace fronters," Russian reaction is actually rather mild. The Soviet Union has made no military move, even of a token character to indicate any response other than political agitation. As a matter of fact, the Soviet's first gesture to follow upon the signing of the pact tends to disclose a conciliatory attitude. Ambassador Vladimir S. Semyenov, political chief of the Soviets in Germany, and Deputy Military Governor General Dratvin attended a cocktail party given by General George P. Hays on the occasion of US Army Day.

Since the start of the Soviet blockade of Berlin, no Soviet official had attended any affair organized by the Americans. It is particularly noted in international circles that this de-

viation occurred on an occasion honoring the US Army.

There are many other symptoms that the Soviets are looking for a way to reopen negotiations on the lifting of the blockade. *Eastern diplomats assert that if negotiations were started today to resolve this controversy they would succeed without any doubt.* But it is very difficult for Russia to make a complete unilateral gesture, without reasonable assurance that it will be met halfway.

BONN

All Over Again

In Berne, Dr. Adenauer, President of the Parliamentary Council of Bonn, has revived the traditional German denials of responsibility for war or defeat. Dr. Adenauer, according to Swiss newspapers, particularly the *Tribune de Genève*, has declared that it was not the German army but the German people who capitulated in 1945. Of course, Dr. Adenauer tried to forestall violent reaction to his speech by stressing that he was merely for a strong central government for Germany, but behind this verbal facade, he was expressing the chronic conviction that a German army can never really be defeated.

LONDON—The British Foreign Office is particularly worried because Dr. Adenauer's speech adds one more symptom of the recurring German self-justification which points to the East-West conflict as justifying all the crimes of Hitler.

OSLO

New Underground

Norway is quietly organizing for the eventuality of war. Under the leadership of energetic Hans Blom, Director of the Industrial Guard, plans are being laid to insure maintenance of industrial production despite attacks from abroad. Action is already following planning—the most drastic step being construction of underground hydro-electric power stations. Within a few years Norway may be producing more than one-half of its present hydro-power requirements in underground plants.

JERUSALEM

Bewhiskered Babe

A special UN WORLD correspondent, J. J. Newman, has summed up in the following his impressions of the new Israeli Government:

■ The Israeli Government gives the impression not of a newly born administration, but of an old, old governmental machinery.

■ It is as efficient—and as bureaucratic—as the governments in England and France.

■ Foreign Office directors are as pompous and as skilled in diplomatic double talk as their most aged and experienced counterparts in the State Department in Washington or the Quai d'Orsay in Paris.

■ Jerusalem taxi drivers are among the world's best and most ingenious of necessity. Their machines are rickety, antiquated, falling apart; the streets and roads are rough, rutted, all but impossible. It is not uncommon for a passenger to sit, fuming or placid, while his driver, equipped only with pliers, profanity, string, nails, wire tape and will power gets going again a broken down machine.

■ Israel is one country where the immigrants are really welcome, even though most of them cannot speak the language of the country, Hebrew, and their heavy, dark clothes—tropical shorts are standard "native" garb—proclaim them as "foreigners" on sight.

■ The Israeli cognac is impossible.

BEIRUT

Equality

Vivacious and temperamental Dominican feminist Minerva Bernardino, chairman of the Inter-American Commission of Women, engaged in a violent argument with a male representative from Ecuador at a meeting of the commission on the Status of Women. The Ecuadorean delegate, at a loss for more arguments to use against his opponent, finally shouted, "If you were not a woman, I would kill you!" To which Miss Bernardino replied, "Under the Charter there can be no discrimination between men and women. So—kill me."

NEW YORK

The Door Ajar

General Bradley's speech before the Jewish War Veterans in New York's Waldorf-Astoria is being appraised

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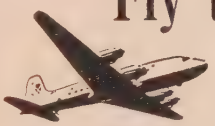

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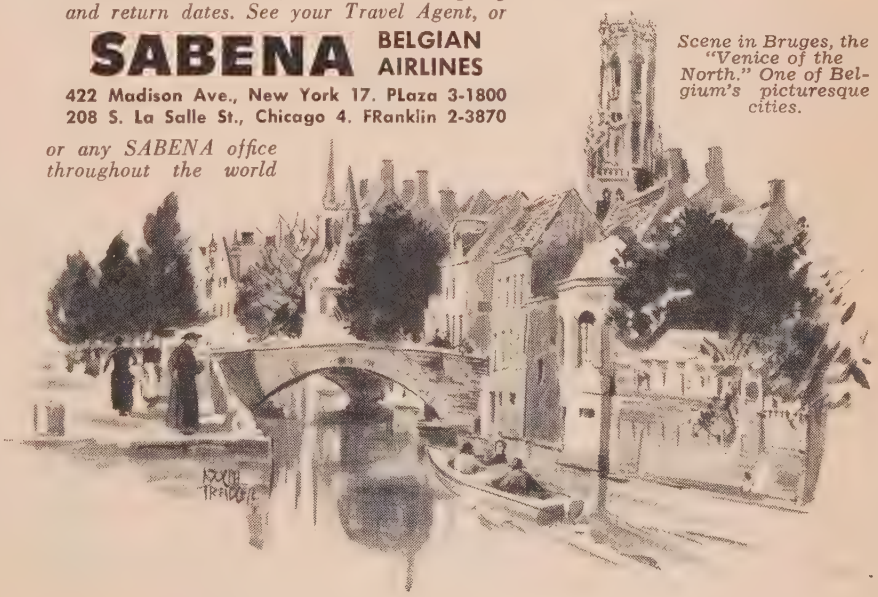

Scene in Bruges, the "Venice of the North." One of Belgium's picturesque cities.

with special care by diplomats of all countries present at the General Assembly. Delegates are impressed by the US Chief of Staff's dictum that the Atlantic Pact has created, and will create, security guarantees to the Western nations to such an extent that the US is no longer "in need of the trumpet that sounded the warning phrase 'cold war.'" General Bradley's statement against "a mentality that accepts conflict as the inevitable end" is considered, in diplomatic circles, to offer genuine hope for improving the international situation.

GLOBAL

Seven-Day Roundup

Journalists don't have all the answers but, on the average, the men who deal with public affairs are well-informed about the opinions of their own peoples. With this in mind, UNITED NATIONS WORLD and *Magazine Digest* commissioned A. Allen Ladd to circle the globe by Pan American Airways to survey the opinion of leading journalists in 14 countries.

The journalists were assembled at the various airports in advance with the help of overseas offices and co-managers of Pan American World Airways and were interviewed by Mr. Ladd as he stepped off the plane. Questionnaires had been sent out in advance covering subjects for which there was not time for oral questioning.

All interviews were completed within six days—from the first in Stephensville, Newfoundland, to the last in Honolulu. Leaving New York early on a Sunday morning and returning to New York on a Monday. Mr. Ladd flew approximately 27,400 miles in 96 flying hours. In Stephensville, London, Brussels, Istanbul, Damascus, Basra, Karachi, Delhi, Calcutta, Bangkok, Hong Kong, Manila, Guam, Wake, Midway and Honolulu, he met and talked with 200 persons—mainly newspapermen. Actually, of course, though he was away from New York 9 days, 9 hours and 35 minutes, Mr. Ladd had only 8 days, 9 hours and 35 minutes of available working, flying, eating, sleeping time. Flying eastward, against the sun, he "lost" a day in mid-Pacific.

It is believed that this is the first time any magazine has used an uninterrupted flight to hold a series of airport press conferences. In every city, whether Brussels or Basra, Mr. Ladd's questions covered, among other subjects, those designed to reveal which influence in each country was tipping the balance toward world co-operation and peace, which toward conflict. A well-qualified reporter, Mr. Ladd is a former correspondent for the London *Daily Express*, the Shanghai *Daily News* and *La Prensa* of Buenos Aires and is now a staff writer for *Magazine Digest*.

In forthcoming issues, UNITED NATIONS WORLD and *Magazine Digest* will both publish results of the survey, which are now being collated, and first-person reports by Mr. Ladd on his round-the-world on-the-spot interviews.

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May Analysis

OF SIX major world problems which have been plaguing the UN and international [illegible]atic circles, four are about [illegible]e resolved quite successfully, while two remain as acute as ever.

1. Palestine. It is the considered opinion of Dr. Ralph Bunche that none of the Arab nations, or all of them united, is in a position to start a large-scale military action against the Israelis again. Therefore, Dr. Bunche concludes, the permanent peace negotiations under UN auspices at Lauzanne have a good chance of success.

The Israelis are trying to convince the Arab countries that it would be in the best interests of the latter to forget all their old grudges and to use Israeli technical skill and know-how to build up the whole Middle East. But the Arab governments, who had such great difficulties in acquainting their people with the bitter realities of defeat, now hesitate to tell them that Israel is about to become the central economic force in the Near East.

In any case, the Palestine problem which only a few months ago was a threat to peace, is no longer a real danger. Credit for a relatively peaceful solution goes entirely to the Security Council of the United Nations.

2. Kashmir (India-Pakistan). Passions in India and Pakistan had been so roused that the two governments confess it would have been impossible for either to have made any real concession without seriously losing face in the eyes of their peoples. However, the solution, that a UN mission under Admiral Nimitz should organize the plebiscite and that the population of Kashmir itself should determine to which state it would belong, or whether it would be independent, is satisfactory to both governments. Thus one of the main points of friction has disappeared from the Asiatic front.

3. Greece. While the guerillas have again launched a rather successful offensive in the Gramos Mountains, the situation has been slightly eased because Yugoslav support of the guerillas is diminishing daily. Assembly President Herbert Evatt and Secretary General Trygve Lie have called a conference of Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Albania, on one side, and Greece on the other, to try to damp out this explosive issue which last year almost threatened the peace of the world, but which is today merely an irritating, and not dangerous, problem.

4. UN. The return of Gromyko top diplomat of the Soviet Union, to the General Assembly and his reaction to the Atlantic Pact has considerably alleviated fears of a Russian and Eastern bloc withdrawal from the UN. In diplomatic circles, the continuation of Russia and the Eastern countries in the UN despite the Atlantic Pact is considered to portend some new degree of international understanding.

THE two problems which still remain threatening and unsolved on the international horizon are, first, the East-West conflict and, second, Indonesia.

On the East-West conflict, diplomatic intermediaries are trying very hard to find a method of negotiation which would permit the two major opponents to get together without seeming—in the eyes of their own people and world public opinion—to be making too many concessions. The general feeling regarding the Soviet reaction to the Atlantic Pact is not as bad as the speeches of its spokesmen seem to suggest.

The difference between the West and the East, UNW is told by an Eastern diplomat, is that the West is thinking in terms of military strategy against an eventual Russian advance, while the East is thinking in terms of a political offensive not only to contain but also to contract spheres of Western influence.

The fallacy of Western reasoning, the Eastern diplomat says, is that it assumes the major problem of tomorrow to be whether Western Europe will or will not be occupied by the Soviet armies.

Eastern thinking, on the contrary, is concerned with the problem of whether, or when, the Western European political situation will be ripe for basic transformation (see page 64).

The second unsolved difficulty is the Indonesian problem, which is today probably the most embarrassing one for the Western bloc. There is no doubt that the peoples of Asia, without a single exception, are deeply resentful not only of Dutch action but of British, French and American attitudes. The Soviet Union is in a better position, having constantly opposed Dutch policy on Indonesia. The Western bloc is determined to persuade the Dutch to accept a compromise solution within the next two months, for it is considered vitally important to avoid exposing the Western bloc to the blows of communist propaganda throughout all Asia.

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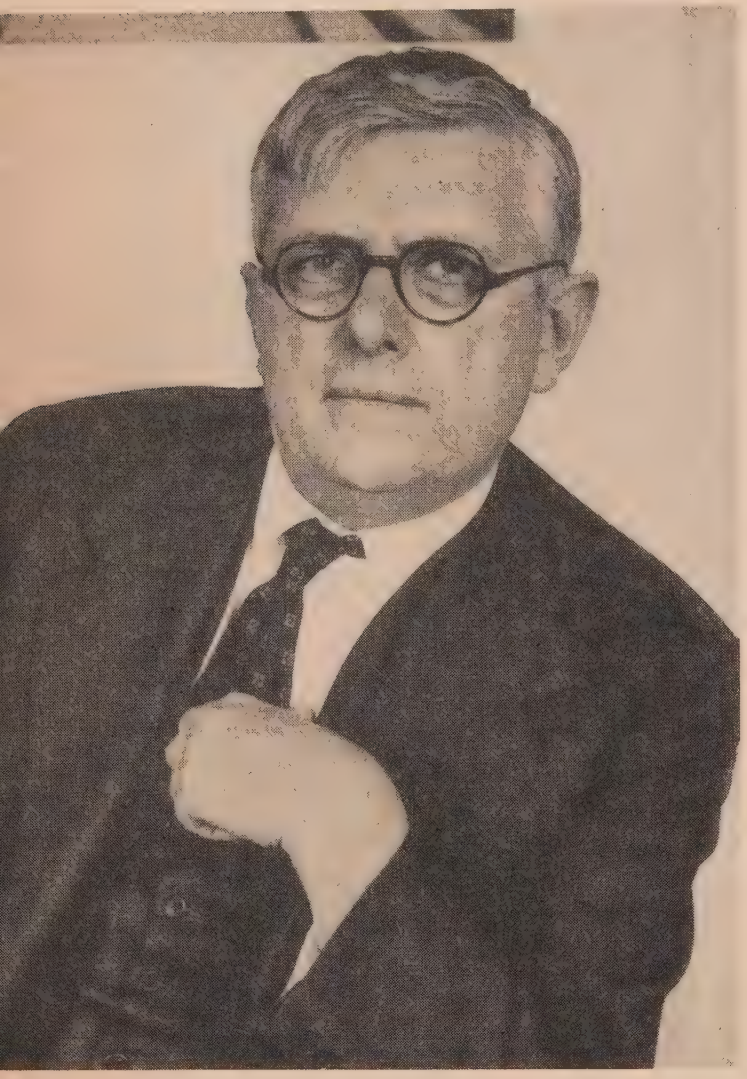

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One World

But it won't co

ONE world is still possible. It is an essential if peace is to be preserved and if mankind is to progress to new heights of welfare and self expression. What is needed is a positive policy based on the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter.

Our aim must be to build and sustain a world in which each individual can live a peaceful life with a decent standard of living and freedom to develop his talents and express himself as he chooses—a world in which the Four Freedoms of Franklin Roosevelt would be a reality.

Freedom of the Individual

Democracy is based upon the great principle of freedom of the individual. Arising out of Christian teaching and tradition, democracy regards each individual as an end in himself, and society should be designed to give the fullest possible expression to the individual's desires and needs. Government is based on the freely expressed will of the people.

This in turn implies obligations on the part of the individual towards society. But regimentation is something to be avoided except in an emergency such as war. It is a test of the political maturity of a demo-

s Still Possible

utomatically

cratic country if its citizens willingly carry out their obligations to the rest of the community out of a sense of duty and an appreciation of the interdependence of all its members, and not because they are forced by law to do so.

In a true democracy each citizen can sleep peacefully at night, unafraid of a knock on his door by the police; he is not spied upon by agents of the state in his ordinary business of life; he is free to speak and read and write and publish as he pleases and to assemble at public meetings; he is not accountable to any state official for his personal conduct or for his political beliefs.

But freedom of the individual, though it is a noble and attractive principle and basic to democracy, is not enough by itself. Positive efforts are also needed to raise living standards and reduce inequality.

Higher Living Standards

The ability of the individual to express himself and exercise his rights may be severely limited if he is hungry, ill-clothed, or badly housed. Unemployment is a most deadly disease for the individual no less than for the state. A healthy society with contented citizens can only exist when the economic and social system is looking after the needs of all members of the community and giving each his opportunity to play a full role.

This means a steadily rising standard of living for everyone, based on increased national production. It also means adequate social services to take care of those who, usually through no fault of their own, are faced with the burdens of unemployment, illness, or other disaster. Enlightened thought regards this as the right of every citizen, and not as a gracious bounty.

Notable work in this direction has already been done and is being done in many countries. In earlier centuries the church was the main source of relief. Later liberal and socialist movements in Western Europe paved the way for the State itself to assume greater responsibilities aided by private benevolence whose contribution, even today, should be neither overlooked nor deprecated.

It is true to say that in most countries today there is no longer any dispute as to whether the State shall intervene in economic and business matters and undertake some degree of planning. That battle has been won. The State cannot be indifferent to mass unemployment and huge depressions, for these not only cause immense human misery but threaten the whole structure of society. The economic dependence of every country on every other has also become clearer during the present century. Consequently, even the most conservative and capitalistic of Governments now accepts a degree of State interference which would have seemed revolutionary in the time of Gladstone and Cleveland.

Intervention by the State is therefore no longer a question of principle but a technical question to be decided on its merits for each country and each industry. The problem is to choose and apply the controls in a manner that will not limit personal freedom; will not impose the petty pinpricks which are so often harder to bear than more sweeping restrictions; will not curb enterprise and initiative; and will not bog life down in red tape and bureaucratic delay.

The Quest for Equality

Democracy must also answer the challenge of other political creeds which claim to offer equality to all men irrespective of color, race, or class. Their claims may not be true in practice. Moreover, most of us would feel that equality without personal freedom is hardly worth having. But the dissatisfaction which results from resentment and discrimination on grounds of color or class is a fundamental weakness in the structure of western civilization, particularly in countries where there are substantial minorities and where whole races feel themselves looked on as inferiors.

This problem must be faced squarely. It is true that it is difficult to proceed overnight with sweeping remedies. The prejudices of mankind, irrational though they may be, are deep rooted in the tradition of each country and in the teaching which each child absorbs, often unconsciously. These prejudices cannot be easily overturned.

We must therefore first seek the betterment of conditions through education and through the pressure of world opinion. In this respect the United Nations is performing a great service by setting out in an international declaration of human rights a detailed statement of what everyone in every country shall be entitled to receive.

One World Is Still Possible *continued*

The practical difficulties in the way of reform should not, however, be regarded as due cause for protracted delay. If we delay too long, the remedies may be found in violence, as has already occurred in some countries. Revolutions may break out which will not only destroy all the bad paraphernalia of the past, but also the good.

The British Commonwealth has set one example by giving India, Pakistan, Ceylon, and Burma complete independence. Burma unfortunately chose to leave the Commonwealth. But the other three states, of their own free will, became independent sovereign Dominions, and last October their representatives sat in London at a conference of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers as equal partners in that great brotherhood.

It must be realized that the days of old-time imperialism and exploitation in Asia are over. The Western Powers, it is true, gave much to the countries of Asia in the way of capital development. They also helped—the British in particular—to give them some appreciation of the democratic values of western civilization, including the very idea of national independence and the dignity of the individual. These are exactly the things which the peoples of these regions are now demanding.

So too in other underdeveloped territories of the world. The Charter of the United Nations covers all non-governing territories, with a special category of trust territories. The Charter provides that in these territories the welfare of the inhabitants shall be the paramount consideration and that the aim of the administering Powers shall be the full participation of the inhabitants in their own government.

These purposes and principles are set out clearly in the Charter—Fundamental freedoms, rising standards of living, peace based on justice. Probably in no country does practice correspond in every point to our professions in the Charter.

War Is Not Inevitable

It is tragic to hear some people gibly talking of "the next war," thereby helping to bring one about by accustoming people to the idea of it. I repeat, war is not inevitable.

Countries can differ on basic matters and yet continue to live in peace. For example, British and Russian policies before 1914 were on many matters opposed to one another for over a century and some of their vital interests clashed in almost all regions where they came in contact, yet there was no war between the two Powers except for the brief period of the Crimean campaign. Different political and economic systems can exist side by side without war arising.

The interests of all countries will be better served by peace than by war. The peoples of all countries abhor war and sincerely desire a long period of peace in which they can mend their wounds and repair the devastation which has laid waste their cities and countryside.

Fortunately there are people all over the world working for peace. The representatives of Governments who gather at meetings of the United Nations are gradually developing mutual understanding and fellowship. The groups of citizens who discuss these matters together and work for the cause of the United Nations are playing their part too.

Our four great foes are: Tyranny, Poverty, Injustice, and War. They are the foes of all mankind, not just of one or two nations. The one world, which is still possible, will be a reality if we all join in the great and inspiring task of overcoming all the foes, guided by the Charter of the United Nations and working within the great Organization which it has established.

Preserving Peace

The achievement of these aims requires a long period of peace—not peace at any price, but peace based on justice. The United Nations provides the machinery to discuss international disputes, remove causes of friction, and settle differences. The Charter sets out the principles.

The United Nations requires the support of all the members who compose it. They must approach each question on its merits, judging it honestly. Power politics is sometimes defended as being realistic, but it is a realism which takes account of certain facts only—the facts of naked power — and neglects other facts which are no less real—justice and welfare. A state which bases its policy on power alone is like a rudderless ship, floundering through converging currents, unable to pierce for any distance ahead the fog that surrounds it. Properly, power is an instrument, not an infallible criterion.

Only policies aiming at serving the ends of justice can hope to have permanence and consistency, because the only conditions which people will accept and support permanently are those which serve the ends of justice and welfare.

Individual Responsibilities

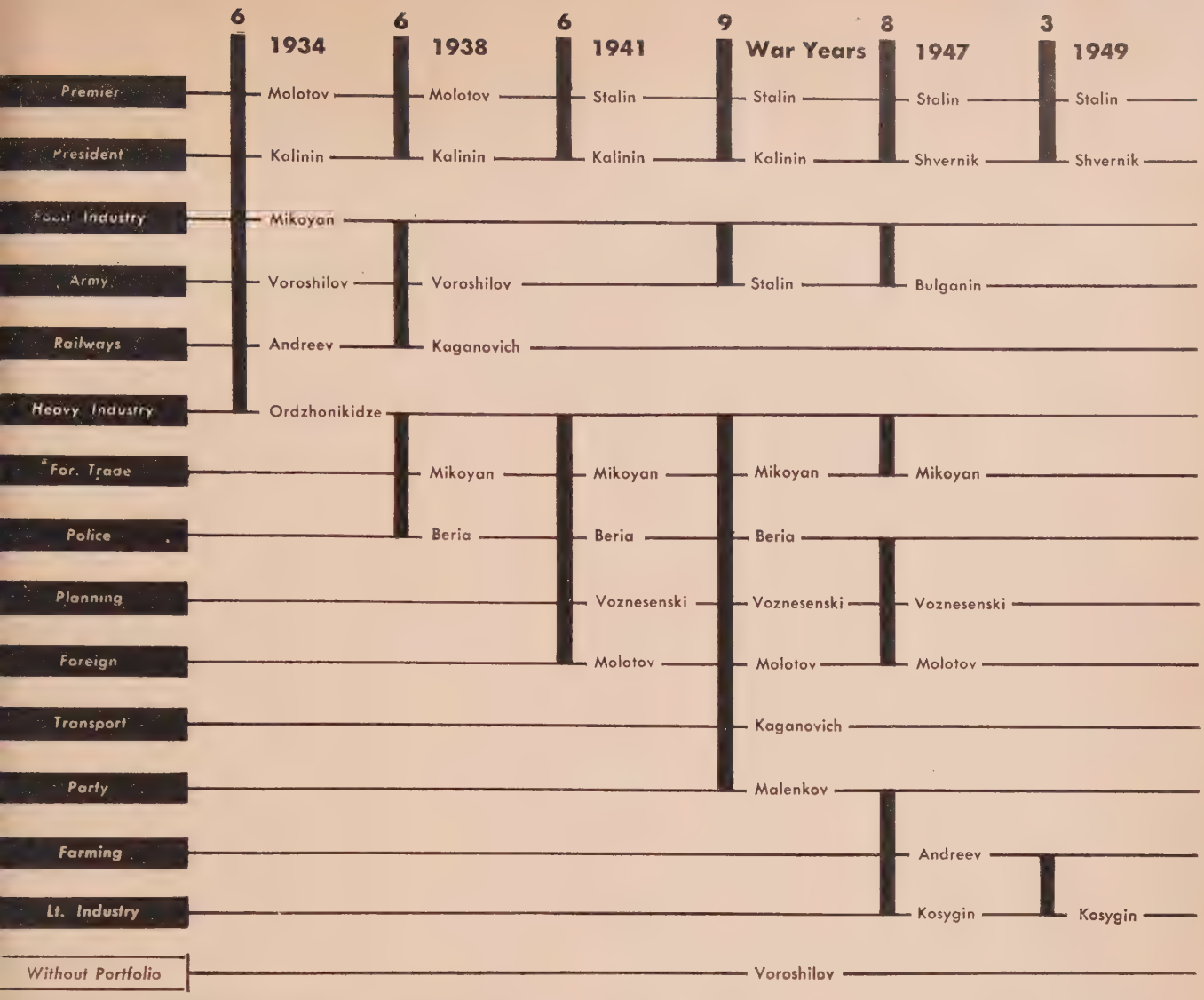
I have said a great deal about what the United Nations can do. But there is one thing it cannot do. It cannot absolve the individual from the duties and responsibilities of facing the problems of life and shouldering his share of its burdens.

Some people hailed the establishment of the United Nations in 1945 as something that was going to remove all the problems of international relations. Now, they seemed to say, we have nothing to do but sit back and relax, and the Organization will settle everything. These feckless escapists are often the very ones who turn round now and charge the United Nations with failure. Having set their hopes absurdly high, they are naturally disappointed to find that they cannot contract out of the problems of life.

The process of change and progress in itself involves problems of adjustment. Honest differences of opinion necessarily exist as to what adjustments should be made. Many differences which confront us are the legacy of history and, even when irrational, cannot be exercised by pretending they do not exist.

The United Nations does not prevent problems from arising: it provides machinery for handling them, and principles according to which they should be judged.

The United Nations is therefore not the lazy man's escape. Everyone has a part to play. He has an obligation to familiarize himself with the organization of the United Nations and the problems it is tackling, and to throw his full support behind those leaders who stand for the United Nations and its purposes and principles.



CRISES PUT POLITBURO MEN IN THE CABINET. IN '34, PRODUCTION; IN '38, MUNICH; IN '49—WHAT CRISIS?

BY ELLSWORTH RAYMOND

■ Mr. Raymond is known among scholars and government officials as a thorough student of Russian affairs. During the war, he was Research Analyst for the US Embassy in Moscow. He is the author of *Soviet Preparation for Total War* and is a lecturer on Soviet Government in Washington Square College, New York University.

It's a Sign of Peace

When Politburo members leave Russia's Cabinet

STATISTICS and politics are inseparable. This is true for Moscow as it is for Washington—or any other capital of a multiparty state. With that in mind, let us make a simple statistical analysis of the recent removal of six Russian Politburo members from high Cabinet posts.

The chart above, covering the last 15 years, shows that:

■ In the Soviet Union the assumption, and relinquishment, of Cabinet Posts by Politburo members is commonplace.

■ In the past, the greater the crisis, domestic or international, the more Politburo members moved into the Cabinet.

This movement into the Cabinet is a Soviet political device by which a policy maker becomes, for a limited, critical period, an executive charged with administering policy.

His movement back out of the Cabinet does not mean that he has been (a) demoted or (b) assigned to build up a shadow government in preparation for war or (c) any of the other fanciful, current speculations between these two. It simply means—it seems clear to me—that a crisis is considered past, and that the time has come to relieve policy makers of the secondary task of administering policy.

For it must be remembered that the six men who left the Cabinet in the recent shakeup all retained their Politburo posts. They still sit on the 13-man board which makes policy for the Communist Party and, hence, for the USSR Cabinet.

Furthermore, statistics indicate that they are likely to continue. For the Politburo has been more stable than the cabinets of any capitalist country during the last decade. Between 1939 and 1949, the Politburo lost only three members—Kalinin, Zhdanov and Scherbakov—and these by natural death. The power of Politburo members stems not from ministerial posts but from the Central Committee of the Communist Party, of which it is, in effect, the executive organ.

In practice, though the Presidency and Premiership of the USSR have since the 1920's been held by Politburo members, many of the 48 ministries of the huge Soviet cabinet have never been blessed with a Politburo chief. In some instances, a Politburo member succeeding a technician at a critical time has failed to solve the crisis or made it worse. In such a case, however, his removal has not been a disgrace.

When Lenin was still boss, Stalin headed a ministry of Nationalities, at which he succeeded admirably. Later Stalin was assigned the Ministry of Workers and Peasants Inspection—a phase of his career ordinarily ignored. For in this post Stalin won not praise but the criticism of Lenin for inefficiency. The ministry was abolished and Stalin never again assumed a Cabinet office until he relieved Molotov of the premiership in 1941, only a few weeks before the Hitler invasion. Stalin again undertook the management of a ministry—that of the Army in which he replaced Timoshenko—after war began.

Andrei Andreevich Andreev is even more of an in-and-outer. Once a worker in a Tsarist bullet factory, Andreev has enjoyed Politburo membership since the early date of 1926. For the years 1931 to 1935, he was Minister of Railways. The great industrial expansion of the First and Second Five-Year Plans outpaced the railways. When the time came that the railways could no longer carry to the many new factories the required fuel and raw materials, nor haul the finished product away, Andreev was finally removed from his post.

His next opportunity came after World War II, when he briefly became Minister of Agriculture to speed up rehabilitation of USSR farms—40 percent of which had been devastated. In this he apparently also failed, being replaced within a few months by the same civilian agriculturalist who had preceded him, Benediktov.

Voroshilov had been in the Cabinet for 15 years as Minister of the Army before he was succeeded by the technician, Timoshenko, in 1940, following the Finnish war fiasco. He returned ostensibly as Minister without portfolio but actually as Stalin's deputy when the latter assumed responsibility for the Army Ministry.

Yet today these two men who could be termed failures in government are still Politburo members.

Voroshilov receives much favorable publicity in the Soviet press, while Andreev is also a member of the party's second most important organ—the Orgburo (Organization Bureau). Moreover, he heads the Party Control Commission, and with Stalin, is one of the five secretaries of the USSR Communist Party.

What of the other four whose departure from the Cabinet inspired far more speculation than did theirs?

■ Molotov, who has been a Politburo member ever since 1921, could be called a failure as Foreign Minister. He can be blamed for the Soviet's blunt and antagonistic postwar foreign policy, which has created the North Atlantic Pact.

■ Mikoyan, ex-Foreign Trade Minister and in the Politburo from 1926, can be held responsible for refusi Marshall Plan aid.

■ Voznesenski, the economic pla ner, apparently did not meddle foreign affairs, but he did write postwar book on Soviet wartime ec nomics which has won undying h tility in the United States.

■ Bulganin, as Armed Forces Mi ister, made speeches on every Sov holiday stressing the danger of a tack from the United States.

Now the bad Politburo boys ha left the government, but it must n be assumed that their power—exce actually to execute policy—is le now than when they ran the maj ministries. In addition to makin policy most Politburo members sti have the governmental rank of vic premiers. This is a post without sp cific functions, but it gives a stron negative control, even on the exec tive level. And, instead of sendin written instructions to technicia Cabinet ministers, the Politbur policy-makers, by virtue of thei superior rank as vice-premiers, ca give them in person at Cabinet mee ings.

We come now to the crux of thi analysis. What present Soviet att tudes and future conduct can be pro jected from this study of history an from the chart?

We have seen that, in time o emergency, Politburo members tak over the key ministries. When th crisis has passed, they return t policy-making. Never in the last 1 years have there been so many Polit buro persons in the government a during World War II when the USSR was fighting for its life. The entire War Cabinet of eight men consisted entirely of Politburo personnel, with still another in the Presidency.

The answer is as simple as this: If the USSR is today anticipating a crisis, *more Politburo men would be moving into the Cabinet, not withdrawing.* It follows that, from the unembellished statistical evidence of the chart, we are justified in drawing two conclusions:

First, the rulers of the Soviet Union *are not preparing to make war* on the West.

Second, despite the loud shrieks against the Atlantic Pact and other "evidences" of capitalistic "encirclement," *they do not really fear* that the West is preparing to make war on them.

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The Man in Moscow Is Scared

He believes the West means to attack

THE MAN IN MOSCOW IS ALSO:

SHORT OF HOUSING, BUTTER, MEAT AND VODKA,

TOLERANT OF RELIGION, PROUD BUT NOT SURLY, INURED TO COLD,

IN LOVE WITH A BALLERINA AND OUTDOOR ICE CREAM

BY GUNNAR FAGRELL
Editor of UNW's affiliate in Sweden

MOSCOW via STOCKHOLM: If you decide to fly from Stockholm to Moscow there is one sentence you will surely learn in Swedish, Finnish and Russian. It is: "I don't know."

At the Bromma airport just outside Stockholm, I began by asking the pretty Swedish ground hostess how long it would take to fly to Moscow. That was my first encounter with the answer. She didn't know—"*jag vet inte.*"

I insisted. The timetable in my hand listed two flights weekly between Stockholm and Moscow. Surely she had some idea of the actual flying time between those two cities. Well, she guessed it might take a couple of hours from Helsinki. Actually it took between five and six.

At the very modern airport of Helsinki the passport police were troubled. I had no Finnish visa.

Of course not, I said. I was to continue with the Russian plane in about an hour.

"How do you know there will be a Russian plane?" asked the police officer. The question was pertinent. Never mind what the timetable said. One could see that there was no plane for Moscow on the field. I turned to others. When would the Russian plane come? Again the answer, this time in Finnish: "*Minä Entiedä.*" Some added that it might come today, others that it might come tomorrow. I gathered it might come any time its crew decided to fly.

It didn't come at all that day. Next day still nobody knew anything about the Russian plane—but, still, it might come. Is it possible to get anything to eat abroad the Russian plane? "*Minä Entiedä.*" Nobody knew. Nobody had seen the inside of it.

Around noon things began to happen. Word had come that the Russian plane was on its way from Leningrad. Soon over the airport a small, old twin-engined American plane lowered itself to the runway. Yes, that was the Russian plane. When the passengers for Moscow were called on the loudspeaker three people filed out the gate, a young lady from the Norwegian embassy with an enormous mailbag, an Iranian diplomat and myself. Inside the cold plane two Russians were busy piling freight on the vacant seats. There was no sign of the Soviet equivalent of the trim air hostess of the Swedish plane. Later we learned that we should not even get a cup of coffee during the trip.

Everybody seems to agree, however, that the Russian pilots are first class. They land and take off with great skill and, despite the cold, the trip was pleasant up among the clouds. An hour and a half after leav-

ing Helsinki we reached Leningrad.

A young lady speaking English fluently introduced herself as an Intourist representative. We must lay over a day. Bad weather ahead. We were resigned, but could we continue tomorrow? Again the answer. Her "I don't know" was in English but later, long before we reached Moscow and while there we heard the frequent Russian refrain: "*Ya nezna u.*"

Our Intourist hostess found us rooms at the Hotel Astoria, known by most travelers to Russia. Hotel Astoria seems to fulfill a function in the Soviet Union much similar to a decontamination station. Actually none of us three were to be subject to any excessive investigation. My companions had diplomatic passports and my own inspection in the airport administration building required but five minutes. For my part I employed the delay to see something of postwar Leningrad.

The city still shows how badly damaged it was by the war, but new buildings are being erected and others are being repaired. I shall refrain from offering "expert" testimony on the strength of one day in Leningrad, but two scenes are very vivid:

■ The picture of a beggar kneeling on the sidewalk in front of a church, and repeatedly making the sign of the cross. I did not see anybody drop a coin into his little cap but, on the other hand, nobody seemed to object to his display of religious fervor.

■ The scene of a group of PW's in worn German uniforms. Slowly and lazily they moved along the street in a rather disorganized group with one or two disinterested guards who displayed no urge to goad them on.

My Moscow host was a western Ambassador. He waited with his car at the Moscow airport. It had been his third trip out, as he had found it quite impossible to get any answer other than, "*Ya nezna u,*" to his question as to when the plane from Helsinki was to arrive. But he had lived long in Moscow. He was not annoyed.

I was overjoyed to have arrived. Now at last I could answer for myself the question: What does Moscow *really* look like?

One sees at once that Moscow does not look like midtown Manhattan or postwar Piccadilly. Before the war the city had 4 million inhabitants. Today it shelters some 6 million. Before the war it was crowded. Today, with only 7 per cent more living space than prewar, Moscow suffers violently from overpopulation.

Moscow is not, consequently, the best place for a winter vacation. Napoleon was never amused by the winter sports of Moscow. Neither was I. Nor did the Russians really seem to be. With the temperature four to six below and a bitter wind sweeping the streets you can hardly expect people to look radiant. But they dress for it, and they can take it. You hardly believe your eyes when women, bundled and muffled to the cheek bones, offer to sell you ice cream from little stalls on the street corners.

But, even in the cold, Moscow is an exciting city. When at night the red stars are lit on the mysterious towers of the Kremlin and crowds drift through the doors of the Bolshoi Theater, eyes glittering with expectation, there is a thrill in the air.

The Kremlin is not, of course, a place of utter mystery. I managed quite easily to visit it. The Ambassador simply wrote a letter to the Foreign Office asking permission for his staff to visit the Kremlin and to bring me as his guest. The Foreign Office said we were very welcome.

Although the trip was so easily arranged, I must confess I had a strange feeling when our car drove up to the gate in the thick Kremlin wall. A guard signaled us to stop. We got out and prepared to show our passports and be searched. Nobody was interested in our passports or the contents of our pockets. A young and pleasant lady introduced herself as our guide, and we strolled inside the wall to the enormous yard where sergeants were drilling unarmed recruits. On our way to the famous Kremlin museum as we passed the entrance to the Hall of the Supreme Soviet, one of our young girls made the flippant remark: "Why don't they let us in there?"

An hour later, as part of the tour, we were politely shown into that very part of the Kremlin. The hall is newly rebuilt and has every modern device the meeting place of a Parliament should have, and is quite dignified although somewhat cold in appearance.

Not one word of propaganda was heard during the entire tour. We met group after group from a party meeting which were also being shown around this sacred place. From the roars of laughter I could deduce that their guides exercised the same international humor that guides everywhere find necessary to cheer a conducted tour.

In Moscow or outside, it is virtually impossible for a Westerner to get on friendly, personal terms with the Russians. Visitors from the West are suspect and Russians who are daring enough to get in touch with them risk investigation and arrest. A stranger cannot freely visit a Russian home, no matter how friendly his attitude. People who know Russia will tell you this is nothing new. The common fight during the war relaxed

MOSCOW UNDERGROUND—but on legal subway construction bent. The girl in foreground gets instructions from the male foreman. In left rear, two others push a small railway muck cart.

Eye Witness Report *continued*

the vigilance of the MVD, but now we have apparently returned to more or less "normal" conditions.

I have, consequently, only statistics and street scenes to guide me in estimating how a Russian family lives. An unskilled laborer earns 800-1,000 rubles a month. He pays only about 5 per cent of his income for rent, but other living costs are very high. A kilo of butter costs 60 rubles, a kilo of good meat 35-40 and a kilo of sugar 13. If he is reckless enough to spend his money on vodka he has to pay about 60 rubles a bottle.

A farm laborer earns only 600 rubles, but he is generally allowed to keep a cow and a small vegetable garden for himself and family, and is permitted to sell the products from this miniature private enterprise. A skilled mechanic, on the other hand, earns 2,000 rubles or more.

The average family, obviously, eats little meat and less butter. But there are plenty of cheap items, such as bread. Russian soups are nourishing, and some factories supply free meals to workers. Transportation is cheap, and you can go by trolley from one end of the city to the other for 35 kopeks (7 cents).

One Sunday during my stay I wanted to visit some churches and asked the Embassy's Russian clerk for advice. She immediately offered to take me to the biggest of the lot. But I wanted to see the inside of a little church just around the corner. That confused her. She said she believed it was under repair, which made me all the more curious. If there isn't enough building material in Moscow to repair essential dwellings, was it likely that the persecuted churches would get material? I insisted on my original plan. All right, if I insisted . . .

We could not get inside the church. It was packed. Its steps were covered with wretched beggars in filthy clothes, with long, uncombed hair, creatures of hopelessness and utter poverty. They were plaintive, not grasping, and very thankful for whatever they got.

Inside, the congregation stood packed together like sardines. It seemed that women, as elsewhere, were in the majority. Many must have been around 50, but I was surprised to notice some quite young men in the crowd. Moreover, the Russian clerk had been right: this church *was* under repair. I never did get any satisfactory explanation as to how the material and labor were allocated.

The next church we visited was big and also crowded. One of the "show" churches, a small side door allowed visiting foreigners to enter close to its altar.

I do not know more about the problem of religious freedom in the Soviet Union than what I learned in Moscow. There are many churches there—all crowded. I was told that the Roman Catholics have churches and schools, but I did not have time to look for them.

The official rate of the ruble is 5.3 to a dollar, which means that living is expensive, even for "necessary foreigners," like diplomats, who are given 8 rubles for a dollar.

Hotel rooms are 30-50 rubles a night — for one. A meal — though good—may cost 50 rubles. One thing comes free—a police escort—the hotels in Moscow are full of MVD officers inside and outside.

Moscow's intellectual-emotional life centers in its theaters. The ballet at the Bolshoi is, of course, by far the best in the world. And the people, at the end of a particularly beloved performance—such as *Swan Lake*, leave their seats and rush toward the orchestra pit to catch a glimpse of the artists and perhaps be rewarded by a smile and a bow. Of all the outstanding ballerinas Olanova is the most popular, and when she is on the stage —which is only a few nights each month—enthusiasm is fanatic.

As my visit was limited to a few weeks and my Russian to about 10 words, perhaps I should not venture to discuss how the Russian people feel about the possibility of another war. But I *did* meet some Russians, and it was my privilege to draw upon the combined experience of many trained observers in Moscow. I shall try to sum up my own reaction after these admittedly superficial observations.

■ Like all other peoples, the Russians hope for peace. There is definitely nothing in their character and outlook on life that corresponds to the Nazi German lust to conquer and enslave the world by force.

■ The Russians believe firmly that their system is the one that best serves "the working classes." They have complete faith in their future. The successes of the Red Army during World War II convinced them their state will endure. Now the fact that consumers goods have become more plentiful is to them an indication that their industries are in action again and being developed.

■ The Russians believe that the "capitalistic" world is jealous of what they consider their outstanding successes and is preparing an armed attack on the Soviet Union in order to get rid of a competitor. Not only foreign but also domestic propaganda repeats this theme. The man in the street in Russia actually fears western aggression.

■ Should there be war the Russians would fight to the bitter end as long as they are convinced that they have been attacked and that they are defending their homes and achievements. However, should the Russians become convinced that they had been led into a war of aggression, interest and effort would soon slacken. Observers point out that the Russians always have been bad fighters in aggressive wars, offering as an example the most unsatisfactory military attack on Finland in 1939. Some go so far as to hold that statistics prove that the Russian workers knowingly or unknowingly sabotaged the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact by slowing down production.

I have saved for the end of this eyewitness report a final observation and conclusion. It is that, although there is suspicion of all foreigners in Moscow, there is no unfriendliness. The people are reserved but polite and helpful wherever you go. You have constantly the feeling that they, as much as you, would like to be friends but—as long as they believe themselves threatened and their pride hurt by scorn—they will remain as tight shut as a clam.

I have not tried to argue whose fault it is that fear of the West prevails in the Soviet Union. That is beside the point. But I do believe the rest of the world would be wise in trying to get as correct an analysis of the Russian attitude as possible. And I do believe that the long Vyshinsky tirades in the UN present only part of that picture.

The Lost Land of Jesus

War has dimmed the path he trod

A DECADE OF CONFLICT CLIMAXED BY BITTER STRIFE BETWEEN MUSLIM AND JEW CANNOT EFFACE HIS FOLLOWERS' DEEP REVERENCE FOR THE LAND WHERE CHRIST WAS BORN AND LIVED AND DIED

BY DON PERETZ
UNW Special Correspondent

ON FOOT out of Syria, a young man one day pursued a lonely quest. To his mother he wrote:

"I then walked down the Jordan valley to the lake of Galilee and home past the site of Chorazin—all thistles for miles. Next day I got going again and descended from Safed to Tell-Hum (Capernaum) from which there was a beautiful view across the lake. Then I walked down the lake-side to its southern end where the Jordan leaves it, and down the river valley for miles. It was a fair road, but it is such a comfort to *know* that the country was not a bit like this in the time of Our Lord.

"The Renaissance painters were right, who drew him and his disciples feasting in a pillared hall, or sunning themselves on marble staircases: everywhere one finds remains of splendid Roman roads and houses and public buildings, and Galilee was the most Romanized province of Palestine.

"Also the country was well-peopled, and well-watered artificially: There were not 20 miles of thistles behind Capernaum. . . . Palestine was a decent country then, and could so easily be made so again. The sooner the Jews farm it all the better: their colonies are bright spots in the desert."

That was in the summer of 1909. The young wayfarer was Thomas Edward Lawrence, then a mere boy of fragile build, later to become the fabulous Lawrence of Arabia. Deeply moved by the squalor he found where he hoped for remains of ancient splendor, young Lawrence mourned the Palestine of his wandering as "the lost land of Jesus."

Exactly 40 years later, in the spring of 1949, I repeated much of Lawrence's early journey. It was no easy trip. The country Christ knew 2,000 years ago is no longer one land. To follow his footsteps in the Holy Land of today the traveler has to pass frontiers sealed to all but a few individuals holding United Nations passports.

The squalor that troubled the heart of Lawrence is gone. Today scores of bright spots patch the drab yellow fabric of the land—the Jews have come to farm it and to repair its broken wheels. They have their own state, a smooth and vigorous little country that subsists on a new art of intangible statecraft—faith, will and enthusiasm—in the face of incredible material needs. The Arabs, too, under the wise and compassionate administration of King Abdullah of Trans-Jordan are settled, propertied people, savoring full the new experience of independence.

Palestine has become two Holy Lands: the places most significant in

The Lost Land of Jesus *continued*

the life of Christ are held by two new Middle Eastern states—the Hashimite Jordan Kingdom and Israel. Bethlehem, where the drama of the New Testament begins, is only 15 minutes' drive from the Old City of Jerusalem where the final chapters were written. They are both in the hands of King Abdullah's Arab Legions. Nazareth, where Christ spent the unrecorded years of his early childhood and became a man, is held by Israel, as is Galilee, the wondrous land of melancholy miracles.

The rigid line that now cuts Palestine into two Holy Lands confronts the traveler at every turn, like a cruel road block thrown into the historical path of Christ. Where he once walked, I traveled a tortuous road of devout reunion. I found that Jesus had been for a decade of conflict a stranger —among strangers. His own flock barred from him, his footsteps had been obscured by the deep furrows left in the yellow sandstone by steel tanks and armored cars and by the trampling feet of young men in warlike haste.

So the land of Jesus is "lost" again, in the din of a modern crusade and amidst the turmoil of war. As he once said to a certain scribe: "The foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have nests; but the son of man has not where to lay his head."

Jerusalem best illustrates the new cleavage between the two Holy Lands. Her heavily populated sections of both Arab and Jewish areas, within a two minute walk of each other, are separated by a Middle Eastern iron curtain. From a high point in any section of the Jews' New Jerusalem the walls of the Old City are visible—and the roughly paved narrow alleys flanked by crumbling houses.

From the Italian Hospital near the Street of the Prophets, I saw a hole torn by mortar peering at me from the battered dome of the Holy Sepulcher. From Israeli Police Headquarters I could look up to the site of King Solomon's Temple, from which Christ drove the money changers, while below me lay the sinuous curves of the Via Dolorosa.

The Arab Legionnaire who looks down on New Jerusalem from the terraced roof of King David's Tower sees the western slopes of Mount Zion and Mount Scopus covered with churches and monasteries, guarding the more than 50 holy places within the confines of the New City. There enframed by the hustle of a modern town, but guarded by Israeli authorities, are such sacred shrines of Christendom as the Upper Room of the Last Supper; the place where Jesus wept over the city; the spot where the cock crowed, and many, many more.

The shooting is over in both Jerusalems — but the cleavage remains. Beyond the Holy City, in Palestine's remoter areas, the division of the country is not so obvious. In Nazareth and Galilee there are many signs of war—but no iron curtain.

St. John records how the guileless Nathaniel once asked: "Can there any good thing come out of Nazareth?"—and how Philip of Bethsaida, already acquainted with the young son of Joseph, answered: "Come and see." Remembering Nathaniel I went up to Nazareth, bearing an Israeli military pass, to see for myself the strange metamorphosis of this holy city. Today Jews and Arabs mix in the streets of Nazareth. As I was making my way into the town my path was blocked by several trucks full of Jewish soldiers. They were bent on no military operation. They were going on a visit to the holy places of Christendom just as did thousands of Christian tourists before the war.

They showed as much respect as any pious pilgrim while guided through Nazareth's chief Christian shrine, the Church of the Annunciation. They asked the Arab priest the same question about the spring in the grotto of the church, and they were just as anxious to drink of this St. Mary's Well, from which it is claimed the mother of Christ drew water. In Nazareth's Latin Church these Jewish youths spoke Hebrew with the German monk who guided them. In the vaults of the Latin Church they saw a cave that the monk claimed was the home of Christ's family, and above it, the "Workshop of Joseph."

There is a working carpenter shop, very much like that which might have been Joseph's, in Nazareth's *shuk* or market place. There I watched an old man making cabinets for the townspeople, using tools probably similar to those used by Joseph 2,000 years ago. And the old carpenter's family live in a room adjoining the shop which differs little from the room in the vaults of the Latin Church.

Its entrance is down a dark flight of stairs leading from the street. For one entering, there are a few seconds of complete darkness. Then the eyes grow able to perceive stone walls and a log ceiling. The old man, two women, three children and a donkey share the single 20-foot-square room.

In one corner there was a wooden cabinet. It was the only furniture other than a couple of wooden stools. The floor was covered with a thin straw mat. A few extra thicknesses of mats and a blanket or two provided the family beds.

Nazareth, like Rome, is built on seven hills, on the southern border of the plain of Esdraelon. I spent the night in a house on the top of one of the highest hills. In the days of the Mandate, the British District Commissioner lived here. Soon after he left, it was the headquarters of the Arab "Liberation" Army's commander-in-chief, the adventurer Fauzi Kaukji. Today Hebrew signs indicate that it is the Israeli Town Commander's quarters. From this house one can see all of little Nazareth tucked into the hollow of its seven hills.

From above, the city seems more like a medieval European than an Oriental town. By night it is a dark amphitheater traced by lines and clusters of pale lights, and from it arose that eerie, distant sound characteristic of all Arab villages in the night—the incessant faraway barking of innumerable dogs.

The road from Nazareth to the Sea of Galilee is a memorable one. It seems that the car travels double the distance a crow might fly. Tortuous hairpin curves lead up to the top of Galilee. From these heights the heart of New Testament territory a thousand feet below suddenly strikes one's eye. Nature's sharp cleavage between the stark barrenness of the mountains and the green plush surrounding the Sea of Galilee is as clean as if cut by shears.

Along the route to the divide many of the villages are still occupied by their Arab inhabitants, but grim scenes remind one of battles fought within the last year. For there are many villages with no inhabitants—only the empty shells of burned-out houses gaping at one like corpses.

BETHLEHEM, CITY OF JESUS' BIRTH, AND ARAB GUARD IN THE BELFRY OF THE CHURCH OF THE NATIVITY

The Lost Land of Jesus *continued*

From these ruins one can well imagine what Palestine must have looked like when the Romans laid it waste shortly after Christ's death.

As the road drops down out of Galilee's mountains into the plain surrounding the lake, a sign in English suddenly reports "SEA LEVEL." Beyond it the road drops still more until it reaches a point 700 feet lower. It was March. Spring had broken out here. Every field was ablaze with red anemones, and the olive groves on the way down were carpeted with violet mustard flowers.

In biblical times the shores of the Sea of Galilee were the most luxuriantly verdant in the land, clothed in a subtropical mantle of oleander and large papyrus. Flavius claims that half a million people lived in the circlet of flourishing towns surrounding the Sea—in Chorazin, Capernaum, Magdala, Taricheae, Tiberias and Tell'Oreimeh, the forgotten Amorite city.

The importance of the area in the minds of those who named it is obvious. The Sea of Galilee is no sea, merely a lake aggrandized in the pride of the men who lived on its shores. Their patriotism was as intense as that of Judaea itself, "notwithstanding the contempt with which the metropolitans of Jerusalem looked down upon the Galilean provincials."

The "sea" is also known as the Lake of Tiberias (John VI.1,XXI.1), the Lake of Gennesaret (Luke V.1) and the Sea of Chinnereth. This last is a word in Christ's own language, describing the lake's physical shape, and means harp.

At the time of Lawrence's visit, the Sea of Galilee presented a desolate appearance—with "no woods or trees only oleanders everywhere, without sign of human occupation." Today the area is again becoming populous. Arabs no longer live in the ancient town of Tiberias. Its Jewish residents have begun to clear away the remnants of their Old City. A new Tiberias is planned for these shores.

Several Jewish collectives are scattered amidst the oleanders of the 13-mile-long lakefront. Some of them suffered war damage much of which I found repaired. The men folk have returned from the army and are back in the banana plantations, the grapefruit and orange groves, and in the fishing boats on the lake. In the pastoral quiet of Galilee little has changed in 2,000 years.

This is the lake whose waters Christ calmed, whose fish he multiplied, and upon whose shores he preached in the guttural provincial dialect of the region: "Repent: for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand." The remnants of an old synagogue, one of 11 such ruins in Galilee, still bear witness of Christ's most active work and ministry: the limestone ruins of the synagogue of Capernaum—one of the holiest shrines of Christendom. Its shards and pillars, as well as the Franciscan monastery at Capernaum, have been well-nigh unaffected by the recent violence.

Today no travel-weary pilgrims visit the shrine and the monastery amidst the thistles. But here, too, young Israeli soldiers on furlough replace the Christian tourists.

The same Italian friar who has cared for the shrine for the past 10 years, Father Pietro from Sardinia, still greets all visitors. Today he alone remains in the spacious monastery, among the sacred ruins. He quietly complained to me that his Arab servant is no longer with him and that he now must do all the work of maintenance and repair, in addition to receiving his "guests." Grass has begun to grow up among the pillars and stones of the old synagogue's ancient ruins.

A mile or two toward Tiberias from Capernaum is the Church of the Loaves and the Fishes. Near here Christ fed a multitude of followers with but a handful of fish and a few loaves of bread. A fascinating mosaic pavement and the stumps of a few pillars mark the remains of a 4th-Century church erected on the spot. Now the mosaic is covered by a small tin-roofed shed, but here, too, grass has begun to grow up around the site and giant thistles all but conceal it. The adjoining settlement of Tabgha upon whose property the shrine stands, is no longer inhabited by its German founders, and is now a Jewish settlement.

The Church of the Loaves and the Fishes is almost at the foot of another site memorable in the life of Christ. Above it rises the "mountain" (a mere hill really) from which the Sermon on the Mount was preached to that great multitude—people from Galilee, and from Decapolis, and from Jerusalem, and from Judaea, and from beyond the Jordan: "Blessed are the poor in spirit; for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven. . . ."

In recent years an Italian hospice was built high on the top of the Mount. Today it entertains no pilgrims, and there are but four Italian sisters and an aged Polish priest left to people its many cells and long corridors. When I passed it by, the steep incline at the foot of the hospice was covered with a mat of thick grass. It was not difficult to conjure up the forgotten picture of a multitude assembled on this green hill by the lake side. In the background, some 50 miles to the north, snow capped Mount Hermon made a striking contrast to the spring time here.

In the days of Christ, Flavius wrote of a magnificent place called Genosar on the lake's shores. At Genosar, "the Gardens of the Rulers," there was always a season of some fruitful plant. Today a Jewish collective called Genosar is planted along what must have been Christ's path. I spent a night visiting there and went down to the settlement's forest on the shores of the lake. Some of the young settlers were fishing on Galilee, just as the New Testament fishermen did some 2,000 years ago—when Christ invited Simon and Andrew to abandon their nets to become his "fishers of men."

In the darkness I stumbled across nets which had been strung up to dry in a eucalyptus grove. As I sat on the banks I could hear men softly dip their oars as they slipped out toward the good fishing grounds. In the distance the lights of Tiberias lit the hillside which leads up to the "SEA LEVEL" sign.

Nearer, the lights of other Jewish settlements sparkled like fireflies. Migdal of the Fishes which may have been Mary Magdalena's home glowed not far away. Today it is a Jewish resort town. Across the lake one solitary pin-point of light indicated the Jewish fishing collective of Ein-Gev. The solitary light was surrounded by a complete hood of darkness concealing the Syrian army on either side of Ein-Gev.

I waited for the morning to see what it would bring to Christ's Lost Land.

Nobody Loves the Germans

(except the Germans)

THOUGH THE BERLINERS ARE STAUNCHLY ANTI-RUSSIAN

THEY ARE NOT, BY A LONG WAY, PRO-AMERICAN—

AN OBJECTIVE REPORT BY A MAN WHO KNOWS

THE PEOPLE, THEIR LANGUAGE AND THEIR PREJUDICES

BY CURT L. HEYMANN
UNW's Roving Correspondent

FOR eight months the Air Lift has kept alive 2,500,000 Berliners at an estimated cost of $120,000,000 to the American taxpayers.

But do the Berliners appreciate US help? Are they grateful for their relative freedom?—for the fact that USAMG is all that stands between them and possible starvation?

Not quite. Although the people are overwhelmingly anti-Russian — including those in the Soviet sector—they are not pro-Ally. And they are by no means pro-American. Americans are not welcome in Germany. The US is better liked than Britain and France because its border is not on the Rhine. But that is all.

If you sit in the dark after 6 o'clock—because there is no electricity—it's tough indeed to convince yourself of the blessing of occupation even by Americans.

Because nobody pities them the Germans pity themselves. They don't blame themselves but their enemies for their physical discomforts. They see themselves as the cold war's victim. Such reasoning puts Americans in the same category as the Russians. The nickname "Amis" is not entirely derogatory. But it's a long way from being flattering.

The following anecdote, told in the American zone, is indicative:

An American commission inspects a destroyed structure and discusses its reconstruction with German engineers. The Americans ask how long it would take the Germans to do the job. "Two years," they say. Then the Americans ask: "And with our help?"—"Four years," say the Germans. Whether they could manage alone or not, the Germans dearly love to think that Americans are a greater interference than help.

Go to any political cabaret in the American zone or in West Berlin and feel the pulse of the German intellectual where it beats the strongest. Russian censorship forbids this type of entertainment. But cabaret entertainers are licensed by the western powers and enjoy an amazing degree of freedom. Hitler gagged them because they were political barometers, a role they again fill. I saw in Munich at the rebuilt "Simpl" of the late Kati Kobus—a revue *Die Amnestierten* — meaning those given amnesty, the "denazified." Though it pokes fun at the Schachts and Papens, it also ridicules the Trumans and Eisenhowers, Stalins and Titos. And, when it comes to the Marshall Plan, it becomes so bitter it is no longer funny. For the ERP is depicted *a la Russe* as a money-making US enterprise, designed to save American capitalism and Uncle Sam's almighty dollar.

Nobody Loves the Germans *continued*

Political skits in other cabarets are of the same type. American literature fares as badly as the American-licensed press, and Hollywood is satirized as the protagonist of American culture. I recently saw this grand finale in Berlin's popular Kabarette der Komiker: To a burst of American jazz the entire cast goes into the most hideous jitterbug gyrations. The curtain goes down on a bedlam of noise and motion. Then an actor's voice announces: "Now you can't say very well that T H E Y are not making a deep impression on our own *Kultur*."

Another Berlin cabaret show with a hidden meaning has this significant title *Jeder gegen Jeden (Everybody vs. Everybody)*. It shows Germany as a house divided, Germans helplessly set against each other. Therein lies a deep significance. With the defeat of Nazism the concept of the German superman is gone and nothing, so far, has filled that vacuum. A recent MG report confirms that the population of western Germany has suffered a major "psychological reversal."

The German reactionaries of today are not the Nazis of yesterday. Nazism today cannot even rally an underground or be revived as a new movement. But Nazism never had a monopoly on many of its "principles," and old Nazi doctrines still pop up occasionally.

A female schoolteacher in Kiel has just suggested "temporary" husbands for an overflow of 7,000,000 German maidens so that they could bear children to save the German *Kultur*. But not Nazi Kultur. Recently I watched the audience in a Frankfurt movie house during the showing of a German documentary film, *Nuremberg*. There was icy silence broken by an occasional sob.

Germany's worst enemy today is a new kind of nationalism fostered by a national egotism that by far exceeds normal patriotism and natural love for the Fatherland. It is the worst reaction to the worst defeat any nation has ever known and, though it has not yet come to the fore, US Army intelligence is aware of the fact that it eventually will. Gen. Lucius D. Clay has indicated to me that it will be met (UNW, March) and admitted that "former Nazi publishers" had plotted to regain control of German newspapers.

It is no mere coincidence that revival of this supra-nationalism is accompanied by anti-Semitism. An anti-Semitic publication printed in Switzerland had to be banned by MG in Bizonia. The German press reported in detail the boycott of musicians Furtwaengler and Gieseking in America, taking it for granted that this was not an expression of American public opinion but of "Jewish propaganda." The denazified artists both can be sure of a very warm reception on their return to the German concert stage.

The German realizes that he leads the existence of a recluse. In his isolation he seeks contacts abroad, and Garry Davis' "Citizen of the World" movement has a great appeal to his haggard mind. But, knowing that the world state is still far in the future, he seeks a salve for his present frustrations in past glories.

In particular two legitimate stage productions reflect the German's search for comfort in courage and heroism. Carl Zuckmayer's *Des Teufels General (The Devil's General)* is a hit in West Germany. Its hero, a daredevil *Luftwaffe* general (supposed to be the late Ernst Udet) appeals to the masses not only because he defies and despises the Nazis, but because he is presented as a superman. No doubt, as advertised, this is an anti-Nazi play. Its author actually fled Hitlerism. But glorification of the *Luftwaffe*, the glamor of the uniform—that is what captivates the audience.

The other play by Bertolt Brecht, at Max Reinhardt's Deutsches Theatre in Berlin's Russian sector, carries the theme of valor even in its title: *Mutter Courage und ihre Kinder (Mother Courage and Her Children)*. This, too, is a war play, a chronicle from the Thirty Years' War. Dramatically strong, its chief character is Mother Courage who wheels her canteen wagon through devastated Poland, Slovakia, Bohemia. Saxony. Her children fall, she carries on and on. . . . Attention, German women!

Three years ago, when I was in US Government Service with the occupation forces, a handshake with a German was *verboten*. That was fraternization. Today, Nazis are invited to co-operate with Americans. Industrialists who served Hitler well are now denazified and among the trustees of the Ruhr steel industry.

This measure is supported by professional military men for security reasons. Germany's "punitive occupation" is over, they claim. Unless we put West Germany on a sound economic basis the American taxpayer will continue to support her to the tune of $1,500,000,000 annually, AMG economists say. Moreover, if you don't shake hands with the Germans—the Russians will.

On the other side of the fence are those MG officials who are more concerned with reorientation of the Germans than with security. It is a deep-rooted fight over a basic policy that has raged in OMGUS Headquarters for the last year and has been brought to the surface by General Clay's constant "retirement" rumors.

If he goes, his top advisers will go with him and the whole administration is likely to shift even before the new Western State is formed.

Should Secretary of State Acheson decide to take over at this critical moment, the State Department would face a dilemma of the first order. The question of personnel alone would be practically insoluble.

Observers here suggest an interim solution: a board of governors consisting of four men, a high-ranking officer, preferably Clay; an Assistant Secretary of State; a representative of Congress, possibly an authority on foreign affairs, and an outstanding American industrialist as expert on economic matters.

Such top-level directorate could review America's whole position in Germany, eliminate the shady elements in US policy and cut red tape —but only if acting on the best available advice. Such advice is not now available. Many US officials in the OMGUS compound in Berlin-Dahlem avoid private and social contacts with Germans whom they consider inferior and, in three years of residence here, have studied German only in "ten easy lessons." They are hardly the experts needed.

But the American Military could find recruits. Two thousand pioneering, open-minded Yankees would give the Germans a taste of what American spirit really is. In my opinion they would be a match for a hundred Russian divisions.

The Non-French Frenchmen

Ten Million African Algerians

A UN WORLD OBSERVER GIVES A FRESH ACCOUNT

OF THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC FORCES

NOW DOMINANT IN THAT FORMER COLONY

WHERE FRENCH FRENCHMEN STILL PRECARIOUSLY RULE

By EGBERT WHITE
UNW's Publisher, formerly colonel on General Eisenhower's staff as Officer in Charge, "Stars and Stripes—Mediterranean."

ALGIERS—FREIGHTER IN THE HARBOR, HOUSES CLIMBING THE HILL

ALGIERS: Six years after the North African campaigns ended in final victory for the Allied forces, one sees a multitude of differences between war- and peacetime in Algeria.

■ Then the most prosperous Frenchmen were eating camel meat. Now all kinds of meat are plentiful.

■ Then stockings were never seen except on WACs. Now all European women wear nylons.

■ Then most Arabs were barefoot. Now they wear shoes.

■ Then the "sheets" worn by the Mohammedan women were gray and dirty. Now they are clean and white.

■ Then you could have fired a shell around the curves of the rue Michelet without hitting a civilian car. Now the streets are crowded with good cars.

■ Then people went shopping with a

Eye Witness Report *continued*

basketful of ration tickets. Now only a few articles are rationed—coffee, sugar, bread, gasoline, fuel oil.

These are only a sampling of the many material improvements in the standards of living one sees at once in France's African department. But, unless one looks beneath this surface prosperity, he cannot see what is actually happening here.

Conquered and pacified by the French in 1830, Algeria was rapidly colonized by European settlers who developed a rich agriculture on the fabulously fertile and well-watered lands between the sea and the mountains. From Algeria they exported shiploads of wine, citrus fruits and vegetables which found a ready market in France. In return, France discovered a prosperous market here for all kinds of manufactured goods.

As one result of pacification and increases in food and other forms of wealth, including better sanitation and medicine, the population has increased almost beyond belief. This is particularly true of the non-European, chiefly Berber, Kabyle and Arab peoples—but called indiscriminately "Arab." The Algerian peoples of African ancestry a century ago numbered fewer than 2 million and, by the census of 1906, under 5 million. Today they number 10 million, and are increasing at the rate of 150 to 200 thousand a year.

As a secondary result—largely an effect of the greatly augmented Arab population but stemming also from such other benefits of French rule as education—nationalism has become an important ferment in 20th-century Algeria. For the moment, ameliorated by constantly rising living standards, stayed by grants of French citizenship and self-rule, inhibited by the defeat of the Mohammedan states to the East by Israel, Algerian nationalism is not a militant movement.

The question still asked here is: How long will 10 million consent to be governed by one million (the total of European-stock inhabitants in Algeria)?

During the war, and after, the time seemed short. It was in such a climate that the Statute of 1946 was passed. This law created the Algerian Assembly of 60 Arabs and 60 Europeans with the presidency alternating between the two groups. The powers of the Assembly are defined as consultative and are chiefly related to the budget. In practice, however, it appears that the Assembly will have control of Algeria's finances, and here as elsewhere the power of the purse is historically the ultimate power.

More pressing than the general question about Algeria's future are two very specific ones:

1. How long will the 10 million accept anything less than proportionate representation in their government? Few observers doubt that the 60-60 balance will be revised or that, when revision is complete, the now-dominant European minority will be economically and politically powerless.

2. Can this transition take place peaceably? Nobody I have discussed this most vital question with can be assured whether there will be enough tolerance, patience and wisdom on both sides to permit such a drastic shift of power without bitterness and bloodshed.

These questions raise a third, the answer to which can be given now and which, to a degree, suggests answers to the preceding two. That question is:

What are the relations between Arab and European in Algeria today?

Theoretically, the two groups are completely equal. Both enjoy the rights and duties of full French citizenship. In practice, however, the duties seem to fall more heavily on the French. Administratively, it is impossible to collect taxes proportionately as great from the Arabs as from the Europeans. Again, while many Arabs perform their military service, their relative representation is far below that of the Europeans.

In the public schools, Arab and European children are a single group, and in Algiers itself the Arab students far outnumber the French. In the University here there are hundreds of Arab students who specialize chiefly in law and medicine. (Curiously, along with Arab interest in medicine, there still exist the most deplorable superstitions. Syphilis, for instance, is general, and even among Arabs of some education it is still accepted that the best cure for it is to take a virgin wife.)

There is virtually no social intercourse between Europeans and Arabs. The children associate in school in much the same fashion as Negroes and white in the border states of the US. There is much juvenile friction and such acquaintanceships as develop do not carry over into genuine adult friendships. Business and official contacts between individuals are correct, sometimes even cordial but they seem never to develop into anything more. So far as I can learn there is no such thing as personal social friendship between Algerians of European and non-European ancestry.

There seems to exist almost no illicit sexual association between the two groups such as exists between Negroes and whites in America. There is no "third race" of mixed blood.

There is no discrimination between types of citizens in trains, theaters, hotels or other public places. At the cinemas, which are extremely popular, Arabs and Europeans occupy whatever seats they choose to buy.

Arab girls, unveiled and in European costume, are a common sight, indicating some breakdown in the rigid religious customs which dominate the Mohammedan world.

Two races living side by side but not assimilating: one declining in power; the other rising in numbers, in political power and national consciousness.

There you have the great enigma of Algeria's future.

FROM THE GRASS ROOTS . . .

Toward One World

What happened in Philadelphia—page 44

AN INQUISITIVE ENGLISH GIRL, ALONE ON A BUS TOUR OF THE US AND CANADA, FINDS HERSELF HOUSED, FED, INFORMED AND SCARED SILLY BY HOSTS EAGER TO SHOW OFF THE SIGHTS OF THEIR HOME REGIONS TO AN IMPRESSIONABLE PROSPECT

You're Welcome

It isn't just a GI's polite phrase

BY BARBARA WACE

Barbara Wace got to know Americans by reporting the war from Times Square to Piccadilly to Paris and beyond. She is now a correspondent in New York. Under skeptical questioning she admits that the trip she describes in this article furnished one incident not in keeping with its title and tone: Out West an ex-gob began a bus-seat friendship by asking her to: "Tell the English people to go to hell." It turned out he had once been bilked by a British sailor.

I MERELY asked them the way by bus, but the elderly couple insisted that I get in their jalopy. Then they drove me blocks out of their own way. "Why should you bother?" I asked. And the man, face tanned to leather by the blazing Kansas sun, smiled as he answered: "It's nice to be nice to people. That's why."

After a 10,000-mile bus trip through 28 states and three Canadian provinces, this is the sort of memory I have brought back with me. These are the sort of people who have taught me, an English girl, that the warmth and kindliness of Americans have nothing to do with dollars and cents, lend-lease and loans. They are something personal that springs from the heart.

Last summer I bought a bus ticket from Washington, D. C., to San Francisco and back, routed to look up various friends who had visited us in England during the war. I was to stop at Crossville in Tennessee; at Louisville, Denver, San Francisco, Vancouver, Milwaukee, and at Hancock in New Hampshire. There were still great spaces on the map, and I believed them to be friendless miles.

But my mother, writing from England, knew better. Better than the New Yorker who told me: "There's nothing to see in the Middle West." Better than the Washington society woman who assured me that you had to have money to get along in America. Better than I did when I wrote home in a panic at the thought of my improvidence in chucking my job in New York, taking the few hundred dollars I had saved, and setting off.

"Don't be silly, darling," my mother wrote. "Of course you're not crazy. When you have seen that marvelous country and all those kind, warm people, you will have something you will never lose—memories you can bring out and gloat over like jewels, whatever happens afterward." And then, referring to our GI wartime guests. "Remember how they used to say: 'You're welcome.' That's what it will be like, I know."

She must have guessed there'd be people like "Aunt Bessie," one of the total strangers who befriended me. Since that September evening Hillsboro in Oregon, where Aunt Bessie lives, is no longer just a little town on a vast regional map. It's a place with a welcome.

I had always wanted to see a county fair. I wanted to compare it with its English counterpart, the fair on the village green. I wanted to know if you too have warm lemonade in enamel jugs, buns and coconut shies, wilting flowers, fortune tellers and boring speeches.

As I sipped a Coca-Cola at a roadside cafe where the bus had stopped for a ten-minute break, I saw an advertisement for Hillsboro County Fair pasted crookedly on the mirror behind the counter. On the spur of the moment I arranged with my driver for a stopover and transferred from his silver monster to a shabby red local bus that set off for the county fair, only a few miles away.

The sun was setting as I approached the small hotel. Behind its huge plate glass window were ranged the usual straight row of leather-seated armchairs. Some farmers sat staring down the street, red-faced, shirt-sleeved, lethargic, their huge hands immobile on the arm rests.

"Sorry, full up," from the desk clerk, hit me like a slap in the face. "It's the fair, you know," he added. "There's nowhere else in town." He and the farmers looked sympathetic but unhelpful as I dragged my typewriter and heavy suitcase three blocks down the street to the drugstore.

The chemist shop in England is al-

You're Welcome *continued*

ways the place where you can find local information, including gossip. Perhaps the drugstore, I thought, will be the same. Doc, behind the prescription counter, a friendly soda jerker, and three women customers in Sears, Roebuck cottons, all entered into my problem but could not solve it. Nobody, it seemed, took lodgers in Hillsboro.

"Mother would love to put you up," suddenly said a voice from the end of the store, where a young man was standing in the shadow. "I know what it's like not to have any place to stay. I was in the Pacific."

Desperate, I suggested that he call her. When he came smiling back, he said: "The bed's made up already. Mother says she'll have supper ready by the time we get there."

Next evening, when I had boarded my northbound Greyhound again—after a day at the fair with the whole family, including daughter Leila and her five bouncing children— I waved goodbye to Aunt Bessie and Jack, and turned to put my hat box on the rack above me. It felt heavier. Inside the crown of my battered hat was a neatly packed parcel.

An envelope tucked into the string contained a note. "Come back soon," it said, "and let us show you more of Oregon. We wish you'd stayed longer. Here's the $2 you left on the dresser. We don't want it, because we loved to have you." It was signed: "Love from Aunt Bessie and the Randalls." And then: "P.S. Here are some sandwiches and peaches to save you buying supper."

Before I left Washington, D. C., I had collected as many introductions as I could. So that in most states I had at least one name to telephone. But in Montana and North Dakota I had introductions to no one. When I reached Seattle I was asking everyone: "Does anybody know anybody in Montana?"

"My roommate comes from Butte," a chance acquaintance surprisingly answered. "It's a wonderful place, she says. She'll be in soon and we can ask her about it."

The tall, slim girl who came in later wrote her parents' name and the name of a cheap hotel in my bulging notebook. "I'll write the folks about you," she said. "They'll love to show you around."

But it took much longer than I had thought to reach Butte. Newly acquired friends had taken me logging in British Columbia; I had found relatives in Victoria; a chance meeting had led to a hectic four days wildcatting oil in the new Redwater field in Alberta. By the time I reached Butte I was six weeks overdue.

The room clerk at the hotel took the registration form from me as I finished filling in my name. "I'm sorry, you can't register here," she told me firmly. "There's been a gentleman calling every day for weeks. You've got to stay with them. Here's their number."

In the little home I found a warm welcome. The whole family set out to entertain a total stranger and to make sure that she saw everything.

My host had been a miner since he first started work in Virginia City, Nevada, where he had married the daughter of the boarding-house keeper. He showed me through a copper mine, took me to church, to the famous Rocky Mountain Restaurant, to the local dives. Everywhere he had anecdotes of the tough old days of the pioneer West. I could not have bought the experience at any price.

My hostess and her daughter, friendly, kind, chatting as I washed my clothes at the kitchen sink and hung them on the line, made me feel at home in a way I had now come to believe was particularly American.

"You'll pay back some other American some day," they said as they brushed aside my thanks. "Besides, look at that stack of dishes we've left for you to dry—and if you stay long enough we'll have you baby-sitting for the neighbors."

"You know, Dad loves to show you Butte and to find somebody to listen to his stories!" his wife chuckled.

This pride in the local scene, the desire to make the stranger really understand and appreciate the home town, is a North American character-

BUTTE. To English eyes, the copper capital of Montana is not rough nor tough, but geometric, and full of sun.

A HARDROCK MINER ready to go underground at Butte, into the hot mine where he will work in his undershirt.

istic. Once, in British Columbia, it proved embarrassing.

I have bumped all over Normandy and Brittany in a jeep, as a war correspondent with the United States forces, and I had my share of air raids. But never in my life was I so frightened as on the beautiful corkscrew highway which takes you through Frazer Canyon, past the famous fish ladder and back onto the plain.

From the beginning I had realized that our driver was a character. Redheaded, incredibly healthy looking, he drove his long bus as if it were a Roman chariot. The Frazer was *his* river. The canyon was *his* canyon. It was up to him, he obviously felt, not only to get his passengers to the point where he handed them over to the next driver, but to make sure they appreciated everything. To have an Englishwoman in the bus really put him on his mettle. And he was determined that the elderly American beside me should get a chance to use his Zeiss with effect.

"Come on, now," he shouted at us across the heads of the other terrified, glowering passengers as he drew up with a jerk at a particularly beautiful corner. "Don't you want to get out and take a picture and see the view?" And then, as we climbed down and my companion took his snapshot, he smiled delightedly and whispered: "I'll make up five more minutes on the next lap. Then I'll be able to give you some time to get out and see the fish ladder. You've read about that, haven't you? Nothing like that in England!"

I know I shouldn't have encouraged him to tell me about the things we passed—the places where there had been rock slides, the huge frames where the Indians dry the fish only they are allowed to catch. Greyhound safety rules are strict and the drivers are famous for careful driving. His pride of country was making him reckless, but I hadn't the heart to dampen his enthusiasm and my nervous companions were as helpless.

After the next driver took over, and was backing carefully away from the bus station, there was a frantic banging on my window. There was the redhead, his face beaming, his hands full of apples which he had taken from a nearby orchard to spill in my lap. "You won't forget the Frazer Valley, will you?" he shouted as we slid into the main highway.

Because of the flexibility of my bus ticket I was able to reroute myself as I went along, so I let events and American friendliness take me where they would, within the limits of my purse and my ticket. The results of this lack of planning were sometimes uncomfortable, sometimes amusing, always exciting.

As the lights blared down mercilessly on the paper-strewn floor of the bus terminal at La Junta, in Colorado, I wondered why I had ever started on a bus trip. It was two a.m. Three slightly inebriated Mexicans lolled uncomfortably on the hard bench, whose unyielding wooden armrests, spaced every yard, successfully insured no sleep for the weary traveler. A blousy waitress listlessly handed me a cup of slopped-over, pale coffee. The juke box blared a song of passionate love.

"Why don't you take a room in a hotel?" asked the burly policeman who had been watching me from the doorway. He nodded understandingly when I explained that if I started taking hotel rooms for three hours, on my budget, I would not get far.

"Go sleep in the back of my car," he told me, pointing outside. "I'm on duty until five and I'll wake you in time for your bus." No spring mattress ever felt as soft as that slippery, cigarette-scented upholstery.

"You'll be able to appreciate the Rockies now," he said as he woke me gently. "They are a wonderful sight in the sunrise and you'll just about hit them right."

There were discomforts and hardships in bus travel—but compensations too. One was the election bet I won from a banker. "Next time you and the pollsters should travel by bus," I told him.

Since the war there's a constant chain of friendliness for the European, from veterans who were in the ETO. "Every country boy is a world traveler now," explained the Boston subway conductor who had made the passengers laugh by recognizing my accent and calling: "Next stop Piccadilly Circus!"

As a child I had a fascinating set of maps and transparencies to fit over them. These transparencies were colored with tiny pictures—sheaves of wheat, oil derricks, ancient castles. When superimposed on its matching map, each completed a picture and told a story of the country—wheat in the Middle West, oil in Persia, castles in Germany.

Now for me the map of North America has another set of pictures to bring it to life—the faces of kindly people who gave me a hand, or a laugh, or some help on my journey.

THE LASHING FRAZER, deep, swift, with massive rocks rearing from bed to surface — no place to duck a bus.

BY H. G. CREEL
Author of Confucius, The Man and The Myth *being published by The John Day Company*

Confucius Did *Not* Say . . .

He was a revolutionist, no apologist for the status quo

THE PIOUS SAGE THE WORLD HAS LEARNED TO KNOW IS A PHONY—
THE INVENTION OF A TOTALITARIAN EMPEROR WHO CORRUPTED
THE REVOLUTIONARY PRECEPTS OF THE REAL CONFUCIUS
TO THE FURTHERING OF HIS OWN REGAL AMBITION

TWENTY-FIVE hundred years ago there was born in China a child whose life was to influence human history as few have done. Tradition says that he came of noble ancestry and was the descendant of kings. At his birth, it is related, dragons and "spirit maidens" hovered in the air. *But Confucius himself said, "When young, I was without rank and in humble circumstances."*

Tradition paints him as a strict pedant, laying down precise rules for men to follow in their conduct and their thinking. *The truth is that he carefully avoided laying down rules, because he believed that no creed formulated by another person can excuse any man from the duty of thinking for himself.*

He is often called a reactionary, whose primary aim was to restore the ways of antiquity and to bolster the authority of the hereditary aristocracy. *In fact, he advocated and helped to bring about such sweeping social and political reforms that he must be counted among the great revolutionaries.*

Confucius was an important intellectual ancestor of the Chinese Revolution. Sun Yat-sen declared that "both Confucius and Mencius were exponents of democracy," and he gave to the Republic of China a constitution that bears the deep impress of Confucian principles. Yet some of his countrymen today regard Confucius with hostility and indifference as a reactionary who helped to forge the chains of despotism. The truth is quite the opposite.

As a young man Confucius had to earn his living at tasks that bordered on the menial. From this he gained a deep sympathy for the common people. Their problems and sufferings were many. Centralized government had broken down. Public and private wars raged unchecked. There was very little law and order save what each man could enforce by his own right arm, his armed followers, or his powers of intrigue. Even the greatest noble could not be sure that he would not be ruined and perhaps assassinated.

The position of the common people was tragic. Whoever won the wars, they lost. Even when there was peace they had no security, for they had no power. They were virtual pawns of the aristocrats, whose principal interests had come to be hunting, war, and extravagant living. To pay for these pass-times they taxed the people and suppressed all protest ruthlessly.

To the young Confucius these conditions seemed intolerable, and he resolved to devote his life to trying to right them. Gradually he gathered about himself a group of young men to study his doctrines, and so became known as a teacher.

The essentials of his teaching were simple. Everywhere about he saw men struggling against each other, but he refused to believe that that was the natural state of society. He thought it was normal for men to co-operate; to strive, not to get the better of each other, but to promote the common welfare. In his opinion a ruler's success should be measured by his ability to bring about the welfare and happiness of his people.

Confucius realized that the world of which he dreamed would never exist so long as the kind of rulers who occupied the thrones were directing government. He undertook to

THE SAGE—a portrait reproduced from a Chinese rubbing dated 1735 A.D.

persuade the rulers to turn over their administrative functions to ministers who were virtuous, capable, and properly trained. He tried to educate young men to be such ministers. For such education he accepted the poor and humble on exactly the same basis as the rich and well born. He demanded only two qualifications: intelligence and industry.

He was trying to produce a bloodless revolution. He wanted to take the actual power from rulers who inherited thrones and give it to ministers chosen on the basis of merit, and to change the aim of government from the aggrandizement of a few to the welfare and happiness of the whole people. He knew that mere intellectual conviction is not enough for revolution, and he tried to kindle in his disciples a veritable passion for the cause to which his life was dedicated. In this he had a large measure of success.

Yet for Confucius it was not enough to be a teacher. He wanted to direct the government of a state and to see the world of which he dreamed come to life under his hand. It is clear, however, that the rulers of the day cannot have seriously considered putting real power into his hands. At best they must have thought him a harmless eccentric, but one who could become dangerous if given power. They did, however, give rather high posts to some of his disciples. It was doubtless at the insistence of these students that Confucius was finally given an office, in his native state of Lu, that carried a respectable title but probably involved no real authority.

When he saw that he could accomplish nothing he resigned his post, and set off on travels which took him to a number of states, in search of a ruler who would use his Way. He never found one. These journeyings lasted a decade or more.

Returning to Lu he resumed his teaching. Five years later he died. His life had had about it very little of the dramatic. There was no climax and no martyrdom. None of his chief ambitions had been fulfilled. There is little doubt that when he died everyone considered him a failure. Certainly he himself did.

After his death, as his teachings were handed down from one generation of disciples to another, the Confucian group gradually grew in size and influence. The doctrine was changed and elaborated, yet two principles remained: the insistence that those who govern should be chosen not for their birth but for their virtue and ability, and that the true end of government is the welfare and happiness of the people. This latter principle made Confucianism popular with the common people.

In 221 B.C. the relatively barbarous state of Ch'in overran China and converted it into a totalitarian empire. The Confucians refused to collaborate, and some of them were put to death. Within less than two decades Ch'in was destroyed by a revolution in which the Confucians took a prominent part.

The Han dynasty, which succeeded, was on the whole much more favorable to the Confucians. A number of them came into conflict, however, with its sixth emperor, Wu, who had totalitarian ambitions. He was far too clever to oppose Confucianism openly; instead he posed as its patron and subsidized it. By putting large numbers of Confucians on the government payroll, and personally manipulating the examinations by which officials were beginning to be selected, he exercised considerable influence over the development of the Confucian doctrine.

From about this time there dates the misuse of Confucianism to justify despotism. This was a perversion of everything Confucius stood for, against which enlightened and courageous Confucians have never ceased to protest.

Most of the information about Confucius that is current today derives from the Han period or later. This is true of his biography and of those commentaries that seek to put flesh and blood on the dry bones of classical books. His biography was so written as to make him a powerful statesman, and the totalitarian legalists put totalitarian sentiments into his mouth.

All this was useful to those who found the democratic sentiments of Confucius embarrassing and wished to represent him as a supporter of unlimited imperial authority. They needed only to stress these false additions to his supposed sayings, to interpret others, and to forget the rest. Thus they built up a façade behind which it has been very hard, for two thousand years, to find the real Confucius.

The facts of life for travelers to Europe

Travel Begins at Home

DUTCH UNCLE ADVICE TO SUMMER TOUR PLANNERS

ON HOW PROPERLY TO APPROACH POLITICS,

CATHEDRALS AND UNESCORTED YOUNG WOMEN IN NIGHT CLUBS

BY THE TRAVEL EDITOR

A SMART girl I know and who is familiar with Europe tells me that she never refuses a stranger who asks her for a dance in a night club—but always insists on paying for her own drinks to avoid any semblance of further obligation. In Europe it is common for utter strangers to ask an unescorted girl to dance, to invite her company for a cocktail or glass of wine. And European girls accept without risking criticism—even allowing a casual dance partner to pick up their checks.

Womanless Americans in Europe, however, will do well to distinguish between hostesses of the night club and women guests. Hostesses must always be compensated after a dance. And, if a man does not know the proper fee, she won't be offended if he asks her.

Many Americans will be introduced to such fine points of European night club etiquet for the first time this year, and they have their proper place though of much less weight and importance for the average American tourists than in the years before the war. For today's tourist is a new phenomenon, much more mature and complicated than his predecessors.

The days are gone when Americans traveling to Europe by summer were readily separated into a few conventional categories.

In those days, there were, of course, the eternal seekers-of-culture—an earnest group, mainly middle-aged. Mostly it was composed of single females traveling alone or in small units, of professors and "idealists"—or of married couples, the male half of which often bogged down with museum feet and occasionally slipped out for a night on the town.

There were, too, the light-hearted crowds. To them belonged many of the richest people of America, who were gay and sometimes young, and others who were poor, always young, and even gayer.

Well-to-do families liked to spend their vacation at a fashionable resort, and the less well-to-do let themselves be whipped through the sights of Europe in anonymous caravans.

Aside from these scores of thousands, one could count businessmen, and scholars in hundreds, and students of international politics on the fingers of the two hands. Bernard Baruch went every year, Walter Lippmann almost as often. The Shirers, Sheeans, Gunthers, Thompsons were then correspondents, not pundits, who stayed abroad.

Today that situation is greatly changed. Travel for the majority of Americans has become a many-sided activity, a complex business.

Old or young, the tourists of 1949 are still eager to plunge into the gaieties of continental life, and information about risqué shows in Paris or intimate restaurants in Rome is at a premium. It is a safe bet that in any gay Paris bistro this summer you may recognize your banker or your Senator—most likely in the company of his wife.

But, and here is the point, not only bankers and senators but virtually every American by now is a veteran observer of foreign affairs. It is a skill acquired the hard way—by learning through bitter experience that what happens in Europe is, literally, a life-or-death matter to Americans. How could they not be determined to look into a situation

on which their future may depend?

By the same token, having learned so much about Europe, and having acquired an unprecedented consciousness of its arts, Americans want to see more than ever the masterpieces of the past, pictures, statuary, cathedrals. And, if nothing else, the best-selling novels of recent years bid them to stop and meditate over old civilizations among noble ruins and medieval squares.

The big question for this new type of traveler then is how to organize his trip in a manner to satisfy so many facets of curiosity, running from the most serious interests to what some would call frivolous entertainment. The average tourist goes abroad for six to eight weeks at the most, of which two are consumed by travel. How can he arrange in such a short span to see and grasp all that is essential in a number of countries each of which is a universe in itself?

The over-all rule must be that travel, even more than charity, begins at home. They must work on the success of their trip weeks and even months ahead, by drawing up a detailed itinerary, making inquiries and familiarizing themselves with important ideas and facts.

As to the itinerary, one shouldn't try to bite off more than one can chew. Those who attempt to take in too much will bring home superficial memories and blurred visions. Even if you go to the Continent for the first time and have a chance to stay as long as six weeks, visit only England, France and Italy preferably within the following schedule:

- England: 10 days. That includes London, Stratford-on-Avon, Oxford, Cambridge, Canterbury, Windsor.
- Paris: 10 days. That includes excursions to Versailles, Fontainebleu and Chartres.
- The rest of France: 8 days. Visit Brittany, the Château Country, Provence and spend leisurely hours on the Riviera.
- Italy: 14 days. Since wise concentration on objectives is also necessary within each country, of these 14 days spend 5 in Rome, 4 in Florence and 3 in Venice, barely stopping at Naples and Milan. It may seem a great pity to swish through the latter two places, but experienced travelers know that there is a minimum requirement in time under

PICTURESQUE ENGLAND. Old flint church, a graveyard's corner, ramshackle outhouses and five feeding swans convey the British countryside's calm charm. The church is St. John's at Piddinghoe.

RISQUE PARIS—Folies Bergere. A chorus line of not-so-young women, dressed quite like old-fashioned Balinese girls, here wait in visible boredom to be called onstage where nudity is a specialty.

BEAUTEOUS ROME. Twisted columns in the cloisters of San Giovanni del Laterano enclose exotic palms. The monastery was founded in the 6th, the columns date only from the 13th Century.

Travel Begins at Home *continued*

which it is impossible to absorb the sights and be attuned to the local spirit and atmosphere. So sacrifice them to gain insight into the past and present of the first three.

If you can spend two more weeks in Europe, you may prolong your sojourn in Italy, and add Holland, especially if art is important to you, since the museums of Amsterdam and The Hague have unique collections. Or take in Switzerland or Sweden if you prefer scenic grandeur and beautiful nature. But at any rate travelers with limited time must follow strict marching orders and keep faithfully to their pre-arranged schedule. People who say they will first go to Paris, have a little fun and then decide about the rest, invariably bog down and hardly get as far as Chartres.

When it comes to technical details, questions of visae, foreign exchange, choice of hotels, etc., you may turn for information either to a travel agency or write to the various national tourist offices in New York which will be glad to answer and send literature (a list of them will be found on page 37).

But no one can do for you the one essential service: You yourself must learn what to expect, what to appreciate and how to find it. Goethe prepared for his journey to Italy by assiduously studying for years so that he knew every stone and historic incident and was able to plunge into the life of "the country where the lemons blossom" with a wonderful familiarity.

Although none of us may be Goethes, nobody need make a blind date out of his trip either. If you read a couple of popular books on the history and art of the countries you're about to visit, your pleasure will be immeasurably enhanced. Historical novels, like Merezhkovsky's *Leonardo da Vinci*, will prepare your imagination. You'll never appreciate the world represented by Versailles if you are unfamiliar with the grandiose deeds of Louis XIV; nor will the stones of Florence talk to you about an age when beauty was the measure of all things if you have never heard about the banker-prince Lorenzo de Medici.

You will not be wasting your time if you jot down in a notebook the facts of local political life. Don't get lost in the maze of changing details. All you need are the basic structure, the form of government, the strength of the parties, the outstanding personalities.

All along your travel, guide books are indispensable. But buy an "old fashioned," factual one, a Baedeker or Muirhead, and shun the latter-day, sophisticated chit-chats.

The latter are not much more useful than was the *Nouveau Guide de Conversations* published in Paris at the beginning of the century. One of its chapters entitled "How to be Angry in Four Languages" recommends the following crescendo for the Anglo-Saxon public: "I am angry . . . I am not in good humor . . . I am in bad humor . . . I am in a dreadful humor . . . I am quite hurt . . . You see me in quite a passion . . ." And finally, probably reserved for chiseling hack-drivers and porters in Paris, this supreme expression of eloquent fury: "I am in a terrible passion!"

Try to consult your Baedeker every morning before starting on your tour, and use it again on the spot. Concentrate on what it classifies as important instead of trying to see every single picture in every single museum or every single stone of every single cathedral. Concentration is the essence. You are not collecting data, you are looking for true experience.

Rather than running from one monument to another in Florence, for instance, spend a whole morning in the church of San Lorenzo, masterpiece of Filippo Brunelleschi, the greatest architect of the XVth century. Just walk up and down and then sit quietly in a corner. Wait and consider, until slowly the flawless proportions of the nave and the aisles, the rhythm of the dimensions and the spacing of the columns, together with the harmony of the ornamental elements, so measured and graceful yet full of virility, will convey to you all the spring-like purity of the early Renaissance.

Perhaps you'll never be able to put into words what you feel, but these are the incalculable and precious moments of inner enrichment, the moments where one's taste and imagination undergo a mysterious change toward greater perfection.

With respect to the human side of your trip abroad, the language difficulties tend to be less than they used to be before the war. English now is the second tongue to a growing number of Europeans. But there remains the question of how to meet people.

It is not always easy, but it can be managed. A very good way is to appeal to persons of one's own profession. I know clever teachers, students, physicians, businessmen who wrote to organizations abroad announcing their visit and were received and taken around with the greatest hospitality by local colleagues. The English Speaking Union in London and the Alliance Française in Paris are always willing to receive wayfarers from this land.

Those who are particularly interested in political and international affairs may get in touch with a US or UN information office. Although their purpose is not to service tourists, they will be able to give information about associations and groups of an international character where American visitors are welcome for a meeting or conversation.

Tips for all Travelers

Travel light. . . . Read carefully the regulations as to import to foreign countries of cigarets, film, money, and follow them. . . . Go to a bank for advice about how and where to exchange your dollars. . . . For tips, if in doubt, give as much as you would in the States. The worst that can happen to you is a large smile. . . . Keep within your budget. But don't try to save a penny. Tight-fistedness and adventure don't go hand in hand. . . . Always be sure that you have a hotel reservation. . . . Try to pronounce foreign names correctly. . . . Souvenirs and personal articles bought abroad are now duty free up to $400 value.

One mustn't avoid chance acquaintances in trains or cafés, but to what extent such fortuitous meetings may be pursued by ladies who travel alone or with a girl friend is a delicate point to decide.

You may even spend an evening in the company of people who approach you in a restaurant or cabaret—but it is better if the acquaintanceship ends there. In fact, there is nothing frivolous about visiting night clubs during a trip to Europe. The *boites de nuit* of Paris are but a charming expression of a philosophy of life of which psychologists ought to approve highly.

They teach one to relax and to yield to pleasurable sensations in a civilized manner. More and more New York clubs cater to vanity, but to be written up in the press because he visits a night spot would seem utterly ridiculous to a Frenchman. He goes there because he wants to be carefree, and drinks and dances in order to exercise the dionisiac side of his nature in a refined manner.

Except for a few clip joints, these night clubs are utterly friendly institutions where drunks are not welcome, fights are virtually unknown, beautiful women are openly admired, where flirtation and clever conversation are practiced as arts. Proust once said that the men of the world are basically men of action, albeit on the lowest level. By the same token, visiting night clubs is a worth-while activity for travelers, even if not of the highest. These simple little facts about night life only make a bafflingly obtuse passage in Aldous Huxley's *Along the Road* even more incomprenhensible.

"The saddest sight I ever saw," Huxley wrote, "was in a Montmartre *boite* at about 5 o'clock of an autumn morning. At a table in the hall sat three young American girls, quite unattended, adventurously seeking life for themselves. The jazz band played monotonously; the tired drummer nodded over his drums, the saxophonist yawned into his saxophone. In couples, in staggering groups, the guests departed. But grimly, indomitably, in spite of their fatigue, in spite of the boredom which so clearly expressed itself on the charming and ingenuous faces, the three young girls sat on. They were still there at sunrise."

That, I submit, is sheer nonsense. American or otherwise, no girl of 20 would be bored in a Paris night club. To the three little birds of passage a new world opened that night. I can see the slim trio lost watching a Frenchwoman's smile, the way a Frenchman smiled back at her, the cut of her dress, the look in his eyes, the caress of their bodies while dancing.

Remote as it may have been from their outlook and background, the strange Parisian establishment was bound to arouse something in them —their imagination, their humor, their instincts, their moral resistance or approval. Anything less would mean that they weren't 20, women—or human for that matter.

For here is an all important point Huxley has overlooked. One doesn't travel only to view picturesque sunsets, to admire the Mona Lisa, to see the opening of the Parliament. In turns sublime and base, life is one and indivisible whether carved into stone, transferred unto a picture or caught in the expression of a stranger.

It is the self-same story of fears and hopes, of despair and courage, of yearnings for self-expression and love, and that's what the traveler must seek out and understand on Montmartre as well as in front of Napoleon's tomb or in the Sistine Chapel. Whether living or dead, artists, saints and sinners of all nations are not very different from the travelers of today and from whatever continent.

Travel at its best is an attempt to understand that truth, an attempt at reading human communication through many symbolic languages.

The true traveler doesn't move around to acquire knowledge for its own sake or to be thrilled by passing sensations but to establish ties with his contemporaries and with his spiritual ancestors. In the process he will deepen his own emotions and will know himself better. He will become a finer companion to himself and the rest of the world.

Remember that, traveler, and bon voyage!

TRAVEL INTELLIGENCE

FOURTEEN ADDRESSES OF NATIONAL TOURIST AGENCIES YOU CAN CALL ON FOR TRAVEL INFORMATION

AUSTRIA
Austrian State Tourist Department
50 West 10th Street, NYC

BELGIUM
Belgian National Tourist Office
422 Madison Avenue, NYC

CZECHOSLOVAKIA
Czechoslovak Information Service
6 East 67th Street, NYC

DENMARK
Danish Tourist Association
15 Moor Street, NYC

EIRE
Irish Tourist Bureau,
33 East 50th Street, NYC

ENGLAND
British Travel Association
475 Fifth Ave., NYC

FRANCE
French National Tourist Office
610 Fifth Avenue, NYC

HOLLAND
Netherlands National Tourist Office
10 Rockefeller Plaza, NYC

ITALY
ENIT
630 Fifth Avenue, NYC

NORWAY
Norwegian Travel Information Service
115 Broad Street, NYC

PORTUGAL
Casa de Portugal
630 Fifth Avenue, NYC

SPAIN
Spanish Tourist Office
500 Fifth Avenue, NYC

SWEDEN
Swedish Travel Information Bureau
630 Fifth Avenue, NYC

SWITZERLAND
Swiss National Tourist Office
475 Fifth Avenue, NYC

Sell Out . . .

UN World's Marshall Plan Tour to Europe by ship has been sold out. Departures by air May 20 and 31 available. In co-operation with the Cuban government: tour to Cuba where UN Economic Commission for L.A. meets May 29. Write or wire for information to

UN WORLD
385 Madison Ave., New York 17, N.Y.

BY TIBOR KOEVES
UNW's Book Editor

Man Born of Woman

and woman sired by man

FREUD HELD THAT ALL ARE INCESTUOUS

AND CITED THE OEDIPUS MYTH AS ARCHTYPE

OF THE TRAGIC DRAMA EACH LIFE ENACTS—

HIS SUCCESSORS ENRICH LITERATURE

AND SOCIOLOGY AND HISTORY

BY VARIATIONS ON, OR DENIALS OF, THE SAME THEME

Oedipus: Myth and Complex.

BY PATRICK MULLAHY.
New York, Hermitage Press, $5

THE kernel of Sigmund Freud's revolutionary approach to human personality was his theory of the Oedipus complex. All later developments in psychoanalysis came as a result of various basic modifications of Freud's original concept: that the incestuous wish of every infant to possess his mother and kill his father is the source of all psychic sickness. What has survived is the universal acceptance of the idea of mother and father fixations, a thesis of vital importance because fixations are held to be the dynamic forces which determine human character.

It is thus entirely logical that Patrick Mullahy's recent book, *Oedipus: Myth and Complex*, should be a review of the history of psychoanalysis with special emphasis on the subject expressed in his title.

It appears that Mr. Mullahy's enormous and complicated material has somewhat smothered his effort to crystallize his work around his main subject. Nevertheless, the frame of reference he offers, and the guidance of his erudition and perspicacity offer an excellent opportunity to take stock of the present state of a science which in a few decades has imposed with unprecedented impact on our civilization.

One of the significant features of psychoanalysis is the rapidity with which it expanded over territories previously reserved to sociology, anthropology and the historic sciences. By inquiring into the deeper meaning of religious laws, tribal customs, myth, legends, biographies, it undertakes to interpret the most complex functions of societies and to explain the behavior of the great figures of the past and present, prophets, warriors, politicians. The scope of Mullahy's work doesn't embrace such considerations, but he would be the last to deny that the perspective offered by psychoanalysis to a new kind of historical research is simply breathtaking.

It is probably safe to say that such disparate and immense personalities as Julius Caesar, Mohammed, Adolf Hitler or Franklin Delano Roosevelt have not yet yielded their secrets to historic research. We know their deeds and recorded words. But the mysterious forces and tendencies which made them what they were remain hidden.

One thing, however, already emerges when one applies psychoanalytical criteria to the biographies of the heroes of history. It appears that in the overwhelming majority of the cases, greater reformers, religious and political titans grew up in an unbalanced family background where they were under the exclusive sway of their female parent. The pattern applies equally to mythical and historic characters. According to the legend, Moses was a foundling brought up without a father by the daughter of the Pharaoh of Egypt. The Lord Jesus has had denied even blood relationship with an earthly father. And we know the influence exercised over Julius Caesar by his mother. The psychoanalyst could not disregard the homosexuality of Caesar's youth, admittedly a symptom of mother fixation, and he would evaluate as important the recorded fact that on the night preceding his cross-

ing of the Rubicon, Caesar dreamt that he slept with his mother.

But he will perhaps study the case history of Mohammed with even greater interest. A posthumus child, Mohammed was brought up by pampering nurses and a devoted mother, whom he lost at the age of 7. At 25, still a virgin, he married a woman of 40, a rich and independent widow. Kadijah lived to be 65, and Mohammed remained utterly loyal to her, though, as the details of his subsequent marriages to 12 other women prove, he possessed a most passionate vitality, and was often a slave of his carnal desires. How abstention and sublimation during the last decade of his old wife's life might have produced the miracles the tormented Mohammed envisioned and the deeds he committed, changing thereby the history of mankind, will be for future scientists to elucidate.

In our own times, Konrad Heiden, Hitler's greatest biographer, characterized the future Fuehrer's family relationships in the following terms: "A 6-year-old boy—a 60-year-old father. A 37-year-old mother. Adolphus grew up in a violently, unnaturally divided world. To his mother—this we can feel from his own account—he was deeply devoted, and she in turn was devoted to the point of weakness to the self-reliant, stormy son."

Later, the fight between father and son "was Adolph Hitler's first great struggle, and by his own admission he conducted it with great fears, with lies and secretiveness, and with a degree of scheming which was *almost suicidal.*"

Hitler's greatest adversary, F. D. Roosevelt, also was the child of a father who at his marriage was twice the age of the mother, to whom America's great President remained so utterly attached and loyal.

This listing suggests some of the questions historians will face in a not distant future—no mean task especially since psychoanalysts disagree as to the true cause and nature of the parent fixation. In Mullahy's study the reader encounters as many different Oedipuses as there are schools of psychoanalytical thought.

In Freud's world the magic word was *libido*—a "flow" of desire, a tension demanding relief. At the beginning of life, this desire has one natural outlet: the loving, comforting, omnipresent mother. At the same time there is a rival clamoring for her attention: the father. But his place cannot be usurped, he can only be hated to death.

The memory of this first overwhelming love and hatred, and the accompanying feelings of guilt and anxiety, whether conscious or not, never leave the individual. When they interfere with work or love life, said Freud, we have the neurotic person.

One of the earliest disciples to question the Freudian thesis was Alfred Adler. He did not deny that the child does direct sexual wishes toward his mother; but he thought that these wishes are only an expression of the child's desire to dominate. The life of man, Adler said, is a striving for power in order to obtain security. A pampered child, especially if he encounters defeat in his tentative struggle with the outside world, will withdraw and expect the mother to gratify all his desires. Instead of domination of the world, his life goal becomes exclusive possession of his mother. Adler's Oedipus is a weakling in full retreat.

The functional psychoanalysts proceeded to humanize the King of Thebes even further. Their most authoritative representative, Dr. Karen Horney, holds that fixations on parents arise mainly from two sets of conditions in the family relationship. The first is sexual stimulation by the parents, sexually-tinged caresses or an emotional hot-house atmosphere. The second set flourish in a highly unfavorable psychological family set-up. Anxiety and insecurity drive the child to cling to one of the parents for reassurance.

In the first case, the attachment of the child is to the parent who elicits love or sexual desire. In the second, the attachment usually goes to the more powerful or more awesome parent, since the winning of his affection promises more protection. Here, then, we have Oedipus either as an artificially aroused child, or as a timorous little boy clinging to the apron strings of his mother. (Laurence Olivier's interpretation of Hamlet's relation to his mother is a remarkable illustration of the first set of circumstances.)

Horney's Oedipus is in curious contrast to that of Harry Stack Sullivan, who believes that mother and father fixations are a result of seeking security, not from the stronger but the more lenient parent, which is always the parent of the other sex. This is because a feeling of strangeness prevents the father from thinking that he is particularly fit to run the daughter's life, and the same is true of the mother and son.

An almost romantic Oedipus emerges from the theories of Erich Fromm, the leading expert in the application of psychoanalytical theories to the field of cultural history. He claims that "the Oedipus myth has to be understood not as a symbol of the incestuous tie between mother and son, but as the rebellion of the son against the authority of the father . . . and that the marriage of Oedipus to Jocasta is only one of the symbols of the son's victory, who takes over his father's place and with it all its privileges."

Transferred from the myth to the complex, this explanation means a conflict between man's legitimate striving for freedom and independence and those social arrangements which frustrate man's desire for self-fulfillment, happiness and independence. Fromm's Oedipus is the champion of the free individual, of the man determined to grow into an unfettered, self-governing being.

Harry Stack Sullivan once said that "psychiatry as it is is no science, no art, but confusion." The conflicting interpretations of the Oedipus complex might seem to bear out his pessimism, but the situation is not really that bad. The very fact that there is complete agreement on the most vital parts of Freud's discovery: the overwhelming importance of early experiences and of the ensuing and enduring subconscious states of tension and anxiety has given a totally new basis for understanding human personality. In that respect, history may be divided into two parts: the pre-Freudian and the post-Freudian eras. After reading Mr. Mullahy one is convinced that the great task is to decide which of the half a dozen or more contradictory figures of Oedipus—and Caesar, and Mohammed, and Hitler and other movers of history—is the true, the authentic man.

Is it the libidinal, the authoritarian, the interpersonal? The need for the emergence of the true Oedipus is great indeed. The bitter puzzles of life, the real Sphynx, must be solved before it is too late, for the world is in greater chaos and danger than the city of Thebes has ever been.

Ideology Ethnology The Liberal Line

food and forests in new books

Yugoslavia
Edited by Robert J. Kerner. Berkeley & Los Angeles, University of California Press. $6.50.

Reviewed by **Emil Lengyel**
Associate Professor, New York University

This book about Yugoslavia is the ninth volume in The United Nations Series of the University of California Press. It is the third volume on a Slavic member of the UN, the two others having been on Czechoslovakia and Poland. The editor of the series, and of this book, Prof. Robert J. Kerner, is a scholar in the Slavic field, which may explain the concentration.

A symposium, contributed by 15 American and Yugoslav writers, the book deals with the geographic and racial history of Yugoslavia, its economic relations, political, social and cultural developments. Two chapters by Jozo Tomasevich deal with foreign economic relations, and they have the unusual distinction of being both sufficiently detailed and readable. The chapter on Serbia, Yugoslavia and the Hapsburg Empire, by Prof. Bernadotte E. Schmitt, while covering familiar ground, is also highly stimulating. A very useful part of the book is a long chronology of historical evolution by Prof. Harry N. Howard, from the beginning of South Slav history to the present. The story of the Second World War by Prof. Wayne C. Vucinich treats, among others, of the bitter wartime conflict between the Chetniks of General Mihailovich and the Partisans of Marshal Tito. The author convicts the Chetniks of collaboration with the German foe.

This volume is valuable because the editor and authors have managed to analyze a highly controversial subject with scholarly integrity. As a source of "background" material it may be found almost indispensable. But Yugoslavia is a much greater problem than her size would indicate and some of her important problems have been overlooked in this book.

The reader will miss a detailed discussion of the problems of Macedonia, Trieste and of Russia's impact upon the country in the past and the present. Also, the organization of the book is sometimes hard to follow. Economic conditions are discussed in the part entitled "Economic Conditions," but also under "Yugoslavia Among the Nations." Although a part of the book is devoted to cultural development, education is treated in the part devoted to social conditions. Also it seems to be the common fate of symposia that the contributor must stop short when he shifts into high gear, and this book is no exception. But, all in all, it is a creditable job which should have a place on the library shelves of every specialist of the Balkans.

Poland Struggles Forward
by William Cary. New York, Greenberg Publisher. $3.00.

Reviewed by **Andrew Gyorgy**
Assistant Professor of Political Science, Yale University

In his interesting new book on Poland, William Cary clearly defines his principal objective: "I wanted especially to find out what the new Government really stood for and was likely to do. And I was determined that any conclusions I might form should come not from rumors and café talk but from an understanding of the basic principles on which Poland's political economic, and social structure was being built." In this effort the author has unfortunately failed. The book offers a misleading picture of present-day Poland, based on an all-too-obvious slanting of available information and on an exceedingly disturbing glorification of the Communist regime.

In spite of the unfortunate initial impression, Cary's book has valuable features of interest to the Western observer. Its graphic description of enthusiastic projects in the economic reconstruction of the country is important material and contributes to a better understanding of the confused Eastern European scene.

Beyond these informative passages, Cary also shows perception and ability in stressing the role of the human factor. His portraits of young Poles who barely survived the horrors of German persecution and the long years in concentration camps, are moving and worthwhile elements of a generally neglected personal or human background. The moral distress and economic tragedy of wartime Poland is interestingly traced to the political sins of prewar dictatorships.

Here the author seems to be fully justified in his frank criticism and bitter castigation of the unsavory élite which exercised control throughout Poland's unhappy interwar period. Pilsudski is characterized as a leader of the right, nationalist wing of the Polish Socialist Party, "at first supported by sections of labor, who thought they knew their man, and before long by the magnates, who really knew him." Cary's trenchant comments on the political characteristics of prewar Poland form a valuable section in an uneven and distinctly superficial book.

The political picture of contemporary Poland is vastly misleading. The aggressive Communist ideology of the present regime is either carefully minimized or lightly dismissed. "It is admittedly a leadership of the Left," observes Cary, who finds no fault in the pattern and practices of the "two Marxist parties," the Polish Workers Party and the Polish Socialist Party.

Mikolajczyk, on the other hand, is given absolutely no credit for his courageous opposition to a ruthless monolithic regime and is described as an "interesting personality" who came to the United States primarily to write for the Hearst press and to discredit the new Polish government. The treatment of the Mikolajczyk case is typical of the author's attitude toward the contemporary politics of Poland. He dismisses political purges, the liquidation of the opposition and ignores the drastic curtailment of civil rights.

The erroneous appraisal of political problems is not confined to Poland alone. The author is convinced that other countries of Eastern Europe are also moving ahead at a rapid rate on the path leading to fruitful and promising democracy. Conversely, he stresses that such countries as Great Britain, France, Western Germany and Italy are hopelessly bogged down both in their political life and in their economic relations.

The reviewer might agree with Mr. Cary in his final observation that one cannot get a fair and balanced picture of Poland in the

American press. It is also obvious, however, that *Poland Struggles Forward* can hardly claim to have offered either fairness or balance in presenting the case of this significant Eastern European country.

Ecuador and the Galapagos Islands
by Victor Wolfgang von Hagen. Norman, Okla., University of Oklahoma Press. $3.75.

Reviewed by Earle K. James
Lecturer on Latin American Affairs at the New School for Social Research

Ecuador, as Mr. Victor Wolfgang von Hagen points out, is a strange land. It strides the Equator—whence its name—but rises to such heights that, while its feet steam in the tropical lowlands of the Amazon and Pacific, its heart chills in the presence of eternal snows. It is the source of the hats which freely publicize another Latin-American republic, Panama. It is the home of the Jivaros who shrink human heads.

And Ecuador owns the Galapagos islands, bleak and long-deserted volcanic specks far out in the Pacific, which gave Darwin some of his first inspirations on evolution, and which in an age of air power have become strategically important to the Panama Canal.

Mr. von Hagen, as an ethnologist and geographer of insatiable curiosity, is much at home in such an environment, as he relishes the strange, bizarre and dramatic. Those who know his earlier books will not be surprised to discover that his emphasis is on the intriguing but not always significant aspects of Ecuador's history; on the topography that embraces some of the world's greatest active volcanoes; on Indian ethnology; on the scientists who explored and wrote about Ecuador, and whom Mr. von Hagen at times seems to credit with the creation as well as the discovery of the republic.

There is much emphasis on the Galapagos—almost a third of the book—and perhaps rightly so, for we know little of the outlandish history and equally outlandish fauna of these tiny islands that harbored not only Darwin but also buccaneers, Melville, and in more recent times, the ill-fated European colonists who mistook it for a Pacific paradise.

But Mr. von Hagen has virtually nothing to say about the political, economic, and social problems that a nation of such tumultuous geography as Ecuador faces. At times, too, he engages in poetic lapses of style or fact—Chileans, for example, will be surprised to hear that no rain ever falls in their country. But Mr. von Hagen has his own interests and points of view, and the aspects of Ecuador that these dictate are entertainingly and instructively displayed.

The Situation in Asia
by Owen Lattimore. Boston, Atlantic-Little Brown. $2.75.

The situation in Asia is that, according to old conventions, Asia has gone "out of control," running wilder by the minute. An enormous redistribution of power has

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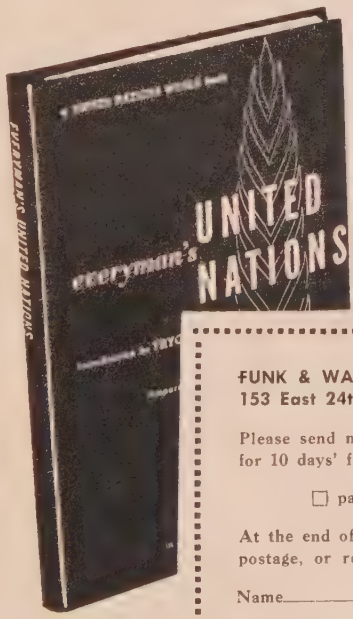

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By G. D. H. Cole, Professor of Social and Political Theory at Oxford University.

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taken place: the power of Russia and America has greatly increased; the power of the imperialist countries has vastly diminished; a third, ungaugable quantity of power has come into the hands of whole races of formerly colonial or quasi-colonial peoples dwelling in areas which comprise a huge portion of the globe.

These peoples are looking neither to Russia nor America to handle their affairs, and Mr. Lattimore thinks it very unlikely that either country will succeed by propaganda (which is misunderstood), or aid (which is misplaced), or by any trick of power politics in forcing these areas back into their former state of docile dependence. He predicts the formation of independent-minded "third-countries" which will refuse to be used as pawns in the strife between Russia and America, and will probably slip out of the way if war breaks out.

The various aspects of America's relations with these actual or possible "third-countries" are examined, with the view that the effort which is being made by America to subordinate Asia to European and American needs must be relaxed. America must examine means by which she can come to terms with these speedily integrating countries, and engage their loyalties as equals, not as lackeys.

Mr. Lattimore, one of the foremost American authorities on Asia, is not obsessed by national vanity. While the index grandly lists American aid, interests, policy, and power, the text talks mostly about American illusions.

BETTY STONES

The Liberal Presidents
by J. C. Long. New York, Crowell. $3.75.

This volume is an earnest and non-partisan attempt to discover in its "great presidents" a justification for the judgment that, "The United States of America from its beginning has been a liberal enterprise."

Having made that statement—it is the first sentence and the first paragraph of the first page of the first chapter—Mr. Long sets out to substantiate it by proving that his choice of great presidents were true liberals—Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, Van Buren, Lincoln, Hayes, Theodore Roosevelt, Wilson, and Franklin D. Roosevelt. There is here nothing so crude as an attempt to discover and emphasize similarities. Instead, with a shrewd disregard for definition as such and an ambitious determination to reveal the true meaning of liberalism by studying each president's relation to time, place and populace, Mr. Long compiles his own list of circumstances which determine a liberal: "consent of the governed . . . union and sovereignty . . . slavery and race issues . . . justice between sections . . . anti-imperialism . . . economic protection of the citizen . . . world peace."

Of Washington, Long concludes that he was a liberal because: "He tried new paths without hesitation, but in the main he sought methods which would enable the old freedoms to prevail . . . Washington sought to build a country in which the common man would prosper. The class struggle was not in his ken. He saw the New World as a land of opportunity for all."

Of Jefferson, he writes: "Jefferson was a philosopher, a critic, a man hospitable to a variety of ideas, and he took pleasure in exploring new principles . . . [But] conversely, the modern politician who swears that he abides by the principles of Jefferson would be shocked to learn . . . that he made no effort to abolish slavery . . . [and] doubted that the Negro had adequate capacity for citizenship . . . "

Jackson's qualifications as a liberal in Long's judgment are his support, on principle, of "hard money, limited paper currency, little government spending, and a balanced budget"—all, he points out, later to become "the bulwark of the most conservative elements . . . Coolidge was a Jacksonian!"

Van Buren, more in the modern pattern, is labeled a liberal because: "He was steadily on the side of the underprivileged, in part for political reasons; yet steadfastly, even when it meant his own downfall."

Lincoln, obviously a special hero to Mr. Long, may be so because he set forth so clearly the concept that change is the continuing core of history. Again and again Long quotes the Lincoln words: "The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present. The occasion is piled

Recommended Books

THERE'S FREEDOM FOR THE BRAVE *by Paul McGuire—William Morrow.*

THE UNIVERSE AND DR. EINSTEIN *by Lincoln Barnett—Sloan.*

THE LIFE OF SIR ARTHUR CONAN DOYLE *by J. D. Carr—Harper.*

THE GIRL ON THE VIA FLAMINIA *by Alfred Hayes—Harper.*

A WREATH OF ROSES *by Elizabeth Taylor—Knopf.*

EVERYMAN'S UNITED NATIONS—*UN World-Funk & Wagnalls.*

high with difficulty, and we must rise with the occasion. As our case is new, so must we think and act anew. We must disenthrall ourselves, and then we shall save our country."

Hayes is included because he demanded civil service reform, fought corruption and the spoils system and advocated a single presidential term. One has the feeling that Hayes barely made it and that the author almost, but not quite, rang in two others—Johnson and Cleveland.

As to the final three on his list, the two Roosevelts and Wilson, there is no more doubt in Long's mind than in the majority of historians—or newspaper readers. TR, of course, was an imperialist but he qualified as a worker for world peace, and as a protector of the economy, even introducing in the US that move to conserve natural resources which now, worldwide, is almost an essential requisite to world peace.

Wilson carried on the lines of action undertaken by TR, evolving a philosophical basis for his principles. FDR's accolade is that he carried on—and on, nearly achieving a revolution—with much more finesse than his cousin, and far less philosophy than his mentor.

The book concludes with a chapter on "Trends Toward Tomorrow" in which Mr. Long shows how the natural trend of a non-imperial democratic state must be toward a world today under common law. Mr. Long is not afraid of the day when the US will be under a permanent constitution of the United Nations or some world sovereignty. The following sentence sums up perfectly his attitude: "No American citizen need have a lesser pride in his home town or in his state because of his primary loyalty to his country, or less love for his country if it becomes part of an international state."

CHARLES BURNS

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE

LONGSTANDING difficulties of the French periodical press have culminated in an acute crisis. Paper, printing and editorial expenses have constantly risen since the Liberation, while public purchasing power doesn't permit a corresponding rise in prices. Recently suspended publications are: *Spectateur, L'Art Sacré, Connaissance du Monde, Belles Lettres, Revue du Cinema,* and *Le monde Illustré,* which was founded in 1857.

A LITERARY SCANDAL has broken out about a book called *Ne sont pas morts tous les sadiques*—"All the Sadists are not Dead"—ostensibly by a German, Ernst Ratno, translated by Max Roussel. Legal action against the publisher charging that the book was pornographic established that Monsieur Roussel knows no German and is the author. He and the publisher, Rene Cusset, face prison sentences of from one month to two years and heavy fines.

AS A SIGN of sustained interest in literature, three interesting works on literary history have recently appeared in Switzerland.

■ Orell-Fusli have published a richly illustrated and excellently written *Geschichte der Weltliteratur—"History of World Literature"*—a most useful handbook.

■ Europa-Verlag has released a German translation of Michael Babits' *History of European Literature.* Babits was a Hungarian poet, novelist, essayist, critic and a translator of Dante, Sophocles and Shakespeare. He died in 1941. In his book he directs the attention of the reader to the general and the universal which are present and operate in the various national literatures. Babits was opposed to both nationalism and authoritarianism.

■ Walter Muschg's *Tragische Literatur Geschichte*—"A Tragic History of Literature"—has been published by A. Francke, Bern. It is a deeply stirring, lyrical and original interpretation of literature. The author divides poets into four basic prototypes: sorcerers, seers, priests, and singers. But he also considers literature as the product of psychopaths, unfortunates and the diseased of every description.

BRITISH BOOKSELLERS exported books to the value of slightly over £4 million before the war. Twenty per cent of these exported books went to Australia, another 12 per cent to South Africa, 11 to Eire, and 11 to the United States. Canada and New Zealand each took 7 per cent of the total and what was then British India absorbed 9 per cent. During the war this small but flourishing trade all but dried up. By 1948, however, the value of British exports of books had risen to £8½ million. Australia remains the top buyer but the second position is now held by the United States with 16 per cent. Eire now takes less than 5 per cent. On the other hand, some of the non-English-speaking parts of Europe—in particular the Netherlands and the Scandinavian countries—have become more eager customers.

IN COMMEMORATION of the 100th anniversary of Chopin's death the first complete edition of Chopin's works is due for publication this year in Poland. The material for the complete Chopin was compiled over many years by Ignatz Paderewski and his collaborators, the pianist Josef Turczynski, and the oustanding Chopin scholar, Dr. Ludwik Bronarski. Each volume will contain photostats of autographs and Chopin's portrait, and offer detailed comments in French, English, Russian and Polish explaining all existing variants of the musical texts as well as the version accepted as authentic.

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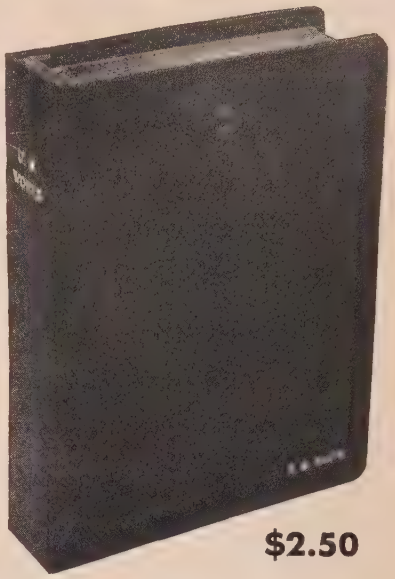

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Toward One World

In Philadelphia

THIS IS YARDVILLE. Children play, birds sing and flowers bloom where once was mud, tin cans and high board fences.

YARDVILLE ACHIEVES FOR 15 NEIGHBOR FAMILIES

WHAT THE UNITED NATIONS AIMS AT FOR 59 NATIONS

THIS is a parable of world co-operation: Its list of characters are three—*McCall's Magazine,* a slick, fat periodical whose aim is to build good will with:

- Merchants—and manufacturers who have household supplies, tools, seeds, cement, etc. to sell. . . .
- Householders—families of potential readers of *McCall's Magazine* and potential customers of the merchants.

The scene is a typical grubby block where—just one year ago—15 Philadelphia families lived as neighbors but not friends. Protestants, Catholics, Jews—each kept his backyard enclosed by a dirty-grey board fence.

Core of the McCall's project was to persuade the 15 families to knock down their fences, build pergolas, terraces, plant lawns and shrubs, erect awnings and set out lawn furniture. They did it, and converted a distressed area into a block-size park (left). More than that, working together the families became friends, happier, intangibly richer. Each spent from $75 to $300 and the merchants crowed. Good will accrued to McCall's in Philadelphia and is growing in 300 other communities where the idea has caught on.

Moral: Everyone gained when the fences fell.

ONE-WORLD INTELLIGENCE

FIVE VETERANS have devised the idea of a world Peace Force. It would fight disease and starvation, build international roads, work at soil conservation, research. When they have 10,000 volunteers signed up, they will present their idea to the UN, under which they hope to serve. Persons could volunteer from any country—must be ready for any assignment. Vince Evanson, 2337 Grant St., Berkeley, Calif., conducts the group's correspondence.

THE TUMULTUOUS world, viewed from tranquil surroundings . . . close contact in forums and recreation with many persons of many vocations and from many lands . . . new perspective on issues of the day—these are the incentives offered by the Summer Institute for Social Progress, Wellesley College, Massachusetts. The 1949 session, July 2-16, offers a varied discussion program—East-West tension to intercultural developments in local communities—with the underlying question, "How Can We Reconcile Liberty and Social Controls?" Robert Bendiner, an associate editor of *The Nation* magazine, will be program chairman.

300 STUDENTS from Germany, Japan and Austria will enter US colleges in September as part of US Army reconstruction programs in their countries. The Institute of International Education, 2 West 45 St., New York City 17, will administer the program.

GARRY DAVIS will offer a "Pact of World Citizens" as an answer to the North Atlantic Pact. He is asking mankind, not nations, to be the signatories.

LEGAL MINDS of many nations, feeling particularly qualified by training and tradition, have joined to promote a wider understanding of UN objectives and procedures. The United Nations League of Lawyers, founded in 1946, has members from 36 countries.

TO KNOW a people, the traveler should know persons, advises the En Famille Agency, Ltd., London. Its plan lodges the tourist in private homes wherever he goes—arranges for him to receive "paying guests" when he himself plays the native host.

WORLD TRADE

MAY, 1949

McCORMICK-DEERING GL-42, 3-FURROW, 10-INCH MOULDBOARD CAN PLOUGH 9 TO 10 ACRES 6 INCHES DEEP IN 1 DAY

Farm Machinery International—

Telling the American Story - - - - *Page 46*

BY HERBERT HARRIS *World Business Editor*

Articles By:

WILLARD THORP *Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs*

and MICHAEL A. HEILPERIN *Foreign Trade Authority*

WORLD TRADE

BY HERBERT HARRIS
UNW's World Business Editor

Telling the American Story

THIRD IN A SERIES

Farm Machine

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION HAS INCREASED 45 TIMES IN THE CENTURY-PLUS SINCE CYRUS McCORMICK INVENTED THE MECHANICAL REAPER WITH WHICH TWO MEN AND TWO HORSES COULD REPLACE 17 MEN WITH SCYTHES

nternational

LIKE an Amos coming down from the hills of Tekoa to denounce the revelers who spurn the reckonings of tomorrow, there are present-day prophets who warn that the good earth will avenge itself against man for the erosion and dust-bowls that his greed and stupidity have too long and too lavishly fostered.

They go even further. They claim that man's extinction is threatened as the world's population of more than 2 billion human beings is rapidly outrunning its food supply. During recent months this not entirely novel view has been eloquently served up on hot plates by Mr. Fairfield Osborn in his *Plundered Planet* and Mr. William Vogt in his *Road to Survival*, and by others of like mind.

Their cries of havoc and alarm are useful goads in the loins of indifference. But like many fierce partisans, the Vogts and Osborns tend to overstate their case and to exclude or neglect facts that do not fit neatly into the pattern of their plaint.

A DAY'S PRODUCTION moves out of an International Harvester plant—by flat-car—en route to farms all over the world.

None of this school, for example, seems to be sufficiently aware that the great revolution going on in the world today is less the stirrings of the masses in the East, or the trend toward collectivism, whether in its totalitarian or democratic forms, than the revolution in agriculture from food and feed and fiber chemistry to farm mechanization.

In predicting disaster by starvation they thus fail to give full credit to the potentialities of the research laboratory and the tractor, an error perhaps understandable enough since the agricultural revolution in its more discernible forms, is just beginning to come into its own.

It has been long-postponed. The principles of Mr. Watt's double-action steam engine, for example, were promptly and widely applied to industry, to manufacture and to transport. But it has taken more than 100 years for the agricultural revolution to catch up with that of other industries.

It had to wait more than a century and a half—for the internal combustion engine and engine mobility to follow immobility and steam (see

page 49). Only the advent of the automotive age enabled the farmer to replace his own muscle and that of his ox and horse and mule with the power of gasoline driven motors in the tasks of sowing, cultivating and harvesting his crops.

To be sure, that agricultural revolution got under way long before the first horseless carriages, the Fords and Haynes's and Steven-Duryeas began to transform the United States into a nation on wheels. It started in 1831 when the 22-year-old Cyrus McCormick invented his reaper and demonstrated its practicality in the fields surrounding Steele's Tavern in Rockbridge County, Virginia.

Up until that time the sickle and the scythe and cradle were the tools of reaping, hand tools virtually unchanged from the days of the Egyptians, the Romans, the Angles and the Gauls. From the dawn of history forward, it has always been easier to make a crop than to gather it; harvesting was the peak load in the cycle of growing grain, whether wheat, corn, oats, barley or rye.

The importance of the reaper (patented in 1834 but not marketed until 1840) was that:

■ By the time of the Civil War where it served the North as slavery served the South, it made it possible for two horses and two men to perform the work of 17 men.

■ It inaugurated the release to industrial, financial, commercial and professional pursuits of manpower that otherwise would have had to have been kept on the farm. (In 1831, nine Americans were needed on the farm to grow their own food and that of a tenth in the city. Today, each American on the land supplies the food for five in the city. The increase in productivity is 4500 per cent.)

■ It was among the very first of US heavy manufactured goods to be sent abroad—a remarkable forerunner in building overseas markets, a goal that was to become the very conscious world policy of the company that McCormick founded in Chicago in 1847.

■ It stimulated the invention of the steel-plow which supplanted the wooden plow of unimaginable antiquity, and of the thresher to replace the flail.

Together it was these three basic machines, the reaper, the steel plow and the thresher which made it possible for the great Prairie lands of the American West, as well as of Manitoba and of Argentina, to be developed and produce yields that with each year became consistently higher. Together they gave hope that for the first time that mankind would be able to conquer the fear of famine.

In the golden age that followed upon McCormick's reaper and the invention of supplementary farm implements, US farms expanded in size and contributed to the prosperity of the railroads. Obviously, it was not until the farmers could grow considerable grain surpluses that the railroads could really move forward on any substantial scale. With cereal crops and their precious freight, the railroads pushed westward rapidly, employing in their construction many, many thousands of men who with the introduction of the new farm machinery could be spared from the fields.

In this respect, it should be kept in mind also that in 1831 and even much later, until the reaper was commonly adopted, almost every farm was a self-contained unit, where each family sought to meet its own wants from its own soil. Many spun and sewed their clothes from wool clipped from their own sheep, made their own shoes from home-cured hides stripped from their own cattle. Most made their own soap and raised their own sugar and their fuel was the wood chopped a few acres away.

The impact of the reaper and other farm inventions which followed in its wake, not only quickened and enlarged the output of American soil, but also initiated a chain reaction of improved living standards as the grain was exchanged for "city" products—bolts of silk, bibles, high boots, coffee, scented soap and horsehair sofas.

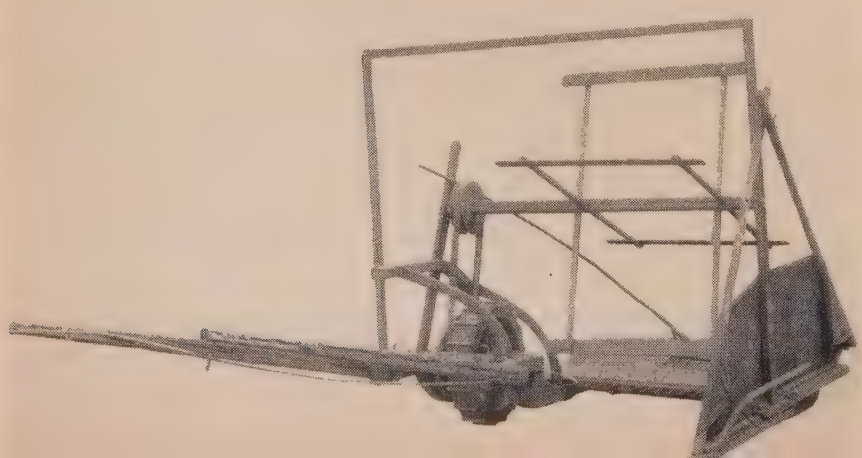
Although McCormick was a pioneer his first ventures in foreign merchandising were not too promising. In May of 1851, for example, he exhibited his Virginia Reaper at the Crystal Palace Exhibition in London to attract British purchasers. But the English newspapers, still influenced by Sidney Smith who used languidly to inquire, "Who ever reads any American books?" described his offering as a "cross between a flying-machine, a wheelbarrow and an Astley chariot . . . an extravagant Yankee contrivance . . . huge, unwieldy, unsightly and incomprehensible. . . ."

After some trial runs in English wheatfields, this opinion was reversed in the press and its public, and McCormick reapers began to make their appearances in England and Wales in 1852, in France in 1855, in Poland and Prussia in 1856, and in Russia in 1858.

These machines, weird contraptions though they still appear to be (see left), were the vanguard of a world

Where the agricultural revolution began

CYRUS HALL McCORMICK, Walnut Grove Farm near Steele's Tavern, Virginia, invented this—the world's first mechanical reaper—in 1831. Its seven basic principles have been incorporated in virtually all successors: 1, the reciprocal knife; 2, fingers or guards 3, revolving reel; 4, platform; 5, master wheel; 6, forward draft; 7, divider.



trade in farm equipment in 84 countries currently conducted by the International Harvester Company, direct lineal descendant of the concern formed by Cyrus McCormick some hundred years ago.

IH sales in 1948 totaled $945,000,000 in dollar value, and—of its domestic production—13.1 per cent went to countries outside the U.S.

Through its many subsidiary companies in Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Canada, Denmark, Great Britain, Mexico, New Zealand, Philippines, South Africa and Sweden—International Harvester manufactures and distributes and services a substantial share of all the globe's farm tools and machinery. Whether rakes or disk harrows or bull-dozer-type crawlers; hay bailers or manure spreaders or cotton pickers; corn planters or ensilage cutters or harvester combines; feed grinders or ball bearings or diesel engines—whether magnetos, milk coolers, home freezers, tractors or trucks, almost every device that speeds the production of usable food is made and sold by IH and its American competitors.

The influence of International Harvester in raising food and living levels overseas necessarily reflects the philosophy of the American organization as adapted to local customs and conditions. To understand its effect abroad, a brief look at IH policy and structure at home, American side, is indispensable.

On any count, International Harvester is big business. It is very big business. But contrary to Marxist prejudgments and claims, and to superficial economic views that consistently follow the word "big" with "bad" and "bad" with "trust," International Harvester is neither monopoly nor monster.

It is in fact a highly diversified enterprise operating in a number of fields no one of which it can be said to dominate. This is the 1948 record of industries and sales in each: the farm equipment industry—$333,995,000; the motor truck industry—$337,070,000; the industrial machinery industry—$77,881,000; the steel industry—$26,634,000; the refrigeration industry — $25,527,000; the binder and baler twine industry—$17,517,000; and some others.

In every arena of its activities International Harvester is up against hard-hitting competition, sometimes of a spectacular kind. Although it is the world's largest producer of farm equipment, it has to fight for every order against the robust rivalry of Deere and Company, Allis-Chalmers, Massey-Harris, J. I. Case, the Oliver Corporation and Minneapolis-Moline, whose sales range from more than $200 to at the least $50 million a year.

Although International Harvester does an annual business of one-third of a billion dollars in trucks and parts, it has to slug it out with General Motors, Ford, Chrysler, Studebaker and 17 other manufacturers, none of them devoid of ingenuity or solvency.

In industrial machinery it is up against the famous Caterpillar company and seven others.

And when some years ago International Harvester entered the lists in America's tough refrigerator tourney, it elected to tilt against such stalwarts as Westinghouse, General Electric, General Motors, Philco, Servel and 33 others.

It is one thing to give lip-service to free competitive enterprise, and something else again to make it into a working faith, a daily tangible.

International Harvester's management long ago perceived that to preach free competitive enterprise and to practice a variety of private collectivism, a favorite indulgence of some mammoth US corporations, is merely to pave the way to public ownership.

It also accepts the stimulating hypothesis that the dinosaur, with no need to struggle for existence, grew too fat and flabby, too big and too stupid to survive. Hence its emphasis on constant new development, whether in engineering or market research, is matched—up to a point—by its tendency to welcome competition if only to keep itself on its toes, and to preserve its own muscle tone.

IH patent policy illustrates this outlook. The usual life of a patent in the United States is 17 years. But some time ago, International Harvester informed a somewhat startled US Commissioner of Patents that it was voluntarily going to relinquish its legal right to exclusive use of patents for 17 years, and no longer retain any patent for more than five years—and for even a shorter time in a majority of instances.

At the same time it has made its 1,300 patents, including basic designs for the mechanical cotton picker on

Farm calendar of historical inventions

Cotton gin	1793
Cast iron plow	1797
Reaper	1831
Thresher	1836
Steel plow	1839
Wire-builder	1874

RUSSIANS make a gala ceremony of the first demonstration of the first IH tractor in that country. The civilian costumes set the date—1910, when the Czar Nicholas II still ruled.

which it had conducted costly research for 40 years, available to anyone else on a royalty basis which it regards as reasonable.

The motives behind these two moves were those of hard-headed business realism:

■ If International Harvester wants to use a new contrivance out of its own laboratories, five years is ample time to tool up, move into production and gain a few seasons of exclusive use as a reward for its initiative in creating a new product.

■ Five years, at today's rate of technological advance, is a fair span of time to test out whether or not a new device is any good.

■ If International Harvester cannot take immediate advantage of a new discovery, it is better to put it into the hands of someone else who will exploit it, further the prosperity of the national economic community, and thus indirectly release more purchasing power for International Harvester products.

Though these are relatively new concepts, they are not out of line for International Harvester's management. Even back in the days when protectionism was the solid rock of US business theology, it never invoked the aid of tariffs to keep out foreign competition. (This holds true of the entire farm equipment industry with the single exception of cream separators, a lobbying fluke.) The theory has been, and remains, that if anybody else, anywhere else, can turn out a tractor, a plow, a corn picker or a combine that is superior and more attractively priced, he should be allowed to ship it into the US, without restrictions, duty-free.

The assumptions behind that theory are that competent engineering, competent manufacturing and competent merchandising alone should put a company on top, and keep it there. If it has to maintain its leadership position by resort to price-fixing, pegging, or allocations of sales territories among a group in the same business, or other combinations in restraint of trade, or by resort to tariff preferences, it undermines the central tenet of the US economic system which is that of free competition in a free-for-all market.

This approach carries over to International Harvester's 25,000 suppliers. Mainly they are of small to medium size, and they sell International Harvester about ½ billion dollars of materials and specialized services a year. International Harvester is very conscious of the fact that it could never undertake the task of supplying for itself the immense variety of things that its suppliers provide. Instead of seeking to annex them, it seeks to build them up, as it does for the 8,000 dealers, independent merchants, who sell and service International Harvester's products to an estimated 4 million customers.

Not by its own design or desire, International Harvester also finds the competitive principles in force in its collective bargaining relations with its 95,000 employees, in 200 US cities. On questions of wages and working conditions, they are represented by such CIO unions as the United Automobile Workers, such AFL unions as the Machinists, by such independents as the Progressive Steel Workers.

Altogether IH management deals with a total of 209 union locals affiliated with 22 different international unions—to all of whom jurisdiction is a fine, and often a fighting, word.

In seeking to apply the essentials of its overall credo to operations abroad, International Harvester has been made mindful, through long experience, that the world contains many different national points of view, preferences, prejudices and even passions. It therefore tries to make each of its subsidiaries overseas an integral part of the economy and ecology of the country.

In France, for example, International Harvester inaugurated its farm implement operations in 1906. Today it has many millions invested in its wholly owned auxiliary, CIMA (Compagnie Internationale Machines Agricoles) which is as French as Auvergne, Balzac, or Cognac. At Croix or Montataire, workers are French and the grain binders and mowers and haying machines they turn out are for Normandy and Provence and for Algiers, Casablanca, Tunis and Oran across the Mediterranean.

In accord with French Government edict, union spokesmen sit in on the formulation of CIMA's general policies.

In Great Britain, during the war years, International Harvester of Great Britain (Ltd) contributed appreciably to the UK's 35 per cent increase in food output. This trend is still upward. The Labor Government. like the Churchill coalition, regards a tractor more highly than a tank. In Britain currently, International Harvester provides crawler-tractors, tractor plows, manure spreaders and hay bailers that share in the drive to develop farm mechanization at a faster pace.

International Harvester's functions abroad are not confined to the manufacture, distribution and servicing of farm equipment. In Australia, which is conducting a truly vigorous campaign to raise agricultural production, its subsidiary company published an outstanding work on pasturage to guide graziers, dairymen and general farmers on more efficient use and care of the soil. The IH book has become a standard work of reference. It discusses, among other things, how contour furrows improve grassland output and thwart erosion in meat-producing regions; how to plant legumes to build nitrogen reserves; how to recognize potash hunger and magnesium deficiency; how to store fodder for the best livestock diet; how to combat sand drift;

On the Way—in this Series . . .

Forthcoming articles in the UNW series "Telling America's Story" will discuss Steel, Light Metals, Industrial Machinery, Office Equipment, World Banking and Finance, and other enterprises. Each will cite specific examples of what American businessmen are doing to make money for themselves by raising the living standards of other peoples.

how to top-dress acreage that has lost its nutritive value; how to tell which grasses, from donthonias to paspalum are more resistant to drought under varying climatic conditions.

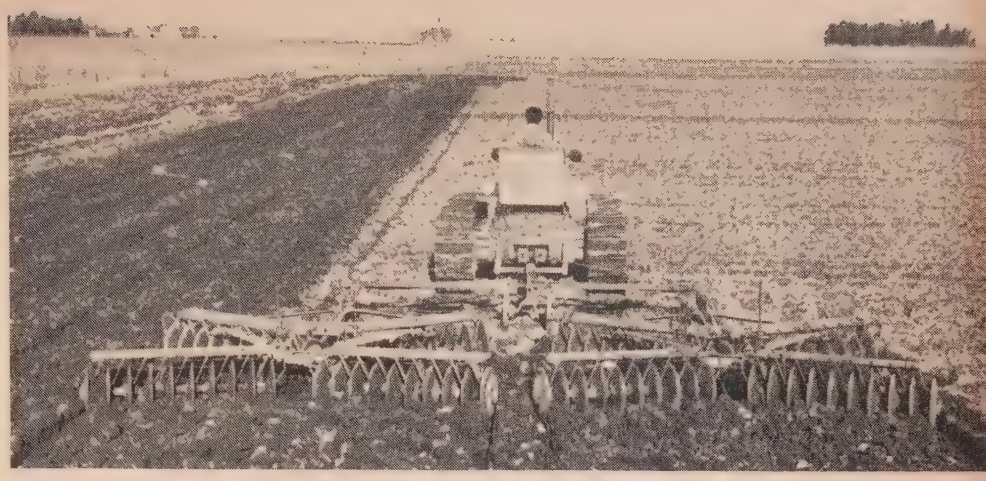
Similarly in Chile, eight years ago, when the government earmarked an Import-Export bank loan of $2 million for purchase of mechanized agricultural implements, International Harvester anticipated the technical assistance programs of the kind now recommended by the UN and by the US government under Point Four.

It sent to Chile teams of engineers, technicians, agronomists, skilled mechanics to assist government officials in modern methods of dam building, excavation, irrigation and the use of farm machinery. Conscripts in the Chilean Army were taught by IH instructors how to drive, dismantle and repair tractors since the government, taking literally the precept "swords into ploughshares," wanted them to learn this peacetime skill and use it on their own farms when demobilized. As a direct result of International Harvester export of "know-how," Chile, a wheat-importing nation, became self-sufficient in May, 1948.

Colombia's Ministry of Agriculture wanted to duplicate the Chilean performance, putting its stress on cotton and corn. Using a loan of $5 million from the World Bank for purchases in the US and elsewhere, the government asked IH to organize another technical mission to consist of experts in soil preparation, practical farmers from the US corn and cotton belts and specialists in farm machinery. Throughout Latin America, which IH management regards as its most promising potential market, IH has helped to direct the clearance of jungles and brush lands, the construction of roads, the rotation of crops.

The IH technique of building profits for itself by building the agricultural prosperity of overseas areas is no simple sales formula. It has nothing to do with favors for the right people. It has much to do with the fact that—year in and year out—despite complaints about "favoritism to foreigners" IH continues to send some 13 per cent of products to foreign purchasers.

It looks upon the international market as one which has to be served as diligently as the domestic. One of its success secrets is continuing



THE PAMPAS of Argentina are admirably suited to mechanized agriculture. Flat and stoneless, with deep rich topsoil, this field can be disced at the rate of from 50 to 100 acres a day.

BIG TIMBER country in Australia is subdued by an IH TracTracTor, with winch. The log is a messmate (variety of eucalyptus) 52 feet in length, 11 feet in girth, weighing 13 tons.

SMALL FIELDS of England make savings in fodder necessary. This long line of tractors, fading off into the typical haze, will make possible conversion of more pastures to food crops.

comprehensive analyses of the overall economic situation within each particular customer country; its demography, the relation of its agriculture to industry, to national income, to exports. These market research projects are remarkable documents, almost their only defect being a tendency to emphasize the strictly economic as against underlying political trends. This is all the more peculiar an omission since IH lost many millions in the Russian revolution of 1917.

When the Mexican government in 1943 invited International Harvester to construct a farm implement plant in Mexico, the preliminary investigations were quite as exhaustive as those which precede a large-scale military operation. Even though IH had been doing business in Mexico for 75 years, it first set out to examine Mexico with a fresh eye. The following are, boiled down, a sample of the findings:

■ Topography: Internal area, 780,000 square miles (one quarter of US) involves mountains, lakes, coastal strips, rivers virtually useless for navigation but invaluable as sources of hydro power and irrigation.

■ Climate: Dry bracing air on the central temperate plateau, humid torrid zones; rainfall erratic, varying annually from 14 to 40 inches.

■ Demography: Population constantly increasing; now 22,776,000, birth rate of 43.3 per 1000, death rate 21.8.

■ Racial groups: 10 per cent Spanish, 30 per cent pure Indian, 60 per cent "mestizo" (blend of white and Indian).

■ Agricultural groups: 3 million families of "peons" (the "peasants"); 882,000 families of "ejidatarios," members of 14,526 communal villages; 800,000 families of "rancheros," small independent farmers.

■ Living standards: National income more than doubled from 1940 to 1948, from a per capita average of 316 pesos to 590 (pesos are 4.85 to the dollar), due mainly to increase in industrial activity in coal and salt mines, oil fields and refineries, electric power and textile and other manufacturing plants. Any further rise must be gradual and industrial growth be paralleled by gains in agricultural productivity.

■ Purchasing power: Still very low for vast majority of population. Among farmers, only 4 per cent can afford to buy an electric refrigerator, 11 per cent a radio, 26 per cent hardware. But government loans and credits will help sales of durables such as farm machinery.

■ Transportation: 13,000 miles of railroad track, 260 vessels, a planned 80-million-peso highway through the Isthmus of Tehuantepec to connect with ports on Gulf and Pacific coasts.

■ Agricultural activity: 42 million acres under cultivation, two-thirds needing irrigation. Principal crops: corn, beans, wheat, bananas, coffee, sugar cane, tobacco, henequen (a fiber used in binder twine and small rope), peas, oats, barley, rice, vanilla and castor beans, peanuts, nutmegs, cloves, ginger, oranges, lemons, figs, mangoes, guavas, tomatoes, lettuce, melons, green peppers.

■ Government land policy: Ambitious National Soil and Conservation program aims to irrigate one half of Mexico's arable land, conserve soil and natural water supply. A government drive to introduce up-to-date agriculture is opening new markets for farm machinery, especially since government grants in aid for purchase of equipment can be expected to grow.

It was after this kind of far-reaching re-examination of the Mexican market that International Harvester opened in 1947 at Saltillo, Coahuila, its new farm-implements factory—the first modern plant of its sort in Latin America. It is located near some of Mexico's richest agricultural areas which provide testing grounds for the factory's products and is also close to the raw material sources of iron, steel and coal, while a direct railway connection leds into the US via Laredo, Texas.

To date, International Harvester has invested about $740,000 in the Saltillo Works, and does not expect to show a profit for several years. Its management is confident, however, that as Mexico's agrarian program goes forward it will make reasonable profits, and that implements made in Mexico with heavier equipment exported from the US will spur that advancement.

In Mexico, International Harvester can count on the goodwill built by its 22 major distributors who, throughout the feverish black-market days of scarcity, sold IH trucks and machinery and parts at list prices. It can also count on severe competition from its old rivals—Deere, Allis-Chalmers, Caterpillar, Massey-Harris, Case, Oliver and Minneapolis-Moline. All of these corporations also look to Mexico as a great potential market. They, too, like other segments of US industry, are learning that in today's world, there is a direct and continuous correlation between making a profit and helping customers to raise their living standards.

GOING . . . GOING. The nag-burro team, the walking plow here contrasted with IH's new Mexican plant are being displaced by machines that multiply man- and horsepower.

US Government's Position

By Willard Thorp

■ In this and the following article the editors of UNW present two crucially important views on the implications of President Truman's Point Four. In the first, the distinguished Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, sets forth the "right-growing conditions" which should precede US aid to other nations, especially to underdeveloped areas. Emphatically, if diplomatically, he meets head-on the old-fashioned charge of "exploitation." The editors present Mr. Thorp's article as a definitive exposition of the US Government's objectives in its "bold new program."

Spelling Out Point 4

Straight but not tough talk

FROM THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

WHEN President Truman, in his inaugural address, listed our main objectives of American foreign policy as strengthening the United Nations, furthering European economic recovery, increasing security, and facilitating economic development of underdeveloped countries, it was this last point which caught the imagination of people everywhere.

The first three were a re-emphasis of familiar positions. The fourth was new in its appearance on the list of major objectives of United States policy.

Why did the fourth point have such an appeal? Largely because the problem merely needed to be stated to be recognized in its importance and its potential. We in the United States are aware of the fact that our economic, social and political institutions have brought us to the highest standard of living yet seen in the world. At the same time, we know that thousands of people in other countries starve to death each year, and half the plows in use in the world are made of wood. We know that something like 80 per cent of the world's automobiles are in the United States, and that only a small fraction of the world's population has ever heard a radio, only an infinitesimal fraction has ever even heard of a television set.

The facts merely need to be stated to start the average American thinking about ways and means to assist in the economic development of other areas.

On the other hand, the peoples in the underdeveloped areas have likewise become aware of the situation. They have seen pictures, have heard stories, or even have seen individuals who obviously are better off. Their political parties, like political parties everywhere, have talked of betterment. They have become dissatisfied with the old life of poverty and hun-

Spelling Out Point 4 *continued*

ger and look forward to better things. How to achieve this is seldom clear. but it persists as a desire and demand by those who have learned of these great differences in living standards. Their point of view has been increasingly heard in the United Nations and international meetings everywhere.

The economist is attracted by the fact that economic development may provide a solution to the problem faced by both Europe and the US, of imbalance in their trade relations with the rest of the world and the political analyst at once thinks of the relationship between economic misery and susceptibility to the demagogue.

It was the idea which captured the imagination. So far as the President was concerned, he was stating a determination to raise to a new dimension the contribution of the United States to economic development of the underdeveloped countries. He was not describing in detail any new program, in fact, a new program did not exist. He was lighting the spark, as Secretary Marshall did at Harvard when his speech led to the European Recovery Program. The spark promises to be kindled into a substantial flame.

The notion that economic development of any country can be facilitated by assistance from outside is certainly not a new one. History is full of cases where one country or another has moved forward in some particular field and this advance has been gradually dispersed over wider and wider areas.

The history of the United States is clearly a case where outside assistance played an important part. Our early settlers brought with them the skills and the implements which had been developed over the centuries in Europe, so they started with a culture and a productivity far advanced over that of the native Indian inhabitants. Our railroads were built with European capital and largely with immigrant labor. Our scientific knowledge has cumulated with major contributions acquired from scientists and laboratories all over the world. The flow has been both in and out. As the United States forged ahead in its own development, there was an increasing flow of knowledge and capital from its shores to other countries.

It will always be true that much of the exchange among countries will be on a personal basis. One of the greatest forms of transfer has been and still is through migration and settlement. This is particularly true of the basic skills and habits of work.

At the higher technical level, the rate of transfer depends in large part upon the degree of interchange of information and the extent to which scholars and research workers in various parts of the world are in touch with each other through direct contact, publications, organizations and so forth. Restrictions in the flow of information and knowledge are obviously restrictions on progress.

In the process of encouraging economic development, it is necessary to realize that the process of development itself is an exceedingly complex one. There is no single formula and no specific point within the total social and economic machinery where the key can be found. Furthermore, the problem differs from country to country both with respect to the stage of development already reached, and the limitations which arise out of existing economic, social and cultural patterns.

The process of economic development can be facilitated by many different types of activity, ranging from the encouragement of migration to the lowering of tariffs and elimination of quotas in international trade in books and periodicals. However, interest in the United States at the present time is centering on two particular elements—technical co-operation and the supply of capital. These were emphasized by President Truman in his Inaugural Address.

"Technical co-operation" is used in a rather broad sense to cover activities ranging all the way from basic education and public health assistance to the study of the productivity of a particular industry. Considerable progress can be made in many areas by these means alone, without requiring much capital, particularly in fields such as education, public health and increased food production.

However, there can be no gainsaying the fact that the provision of basic public services, such as roads, harbors, dams for power and irrigation projects, and the like, require enormous quantities of capital. In the industrialization of a country, when it moves on from the small scale household handicraft methods of production to the use of power machinery, the requirement for capital again becomes one of the major limiting factors.

The channels through which international assistance has flowed other than those on the strictly personal level, have been private institutions, both philanthropic and profit-making, bilateral governmental arrangements, and more recently the United Nations. To increase the speed of economic development, the effectiveness and scale of utilization of each of these channels must be increased.

To reverse the order of consideration, the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies are already active in the field of technical assistance. This has been the subject of pro-

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The Economic Voice of America

At 50 Willard Long Thorp is the key figure, symbol and spokesman, for the ever-more important place of economic intelligence in the conduct of US foreign relations.

As the US role in world economic leadership grows daily, Mr. Thorp's responsibility, and stature, have grown with it. To his job he brings the sharp sense of moral accountability of his upstate New York Congregationalist heritage and an outlook distinctly humanist. His chief concern is for people, for the kind of environment in which they as individuals will have opportunity to develop with the maximum freedom consonant with the good of society.

A gifted technician, a former Professor of Economics at Amherst, he was for 10 years research director for Dun and Bradstreet. He is warmly admired by his two bosses, President Truman and Secretary of State Acheson, though detractors contend that he handles affairs of great moment too casually. To this charge his friends retort that the air of seeming relaxation is deceptive, that he has a mind of steel-spring tension which makes him one of the most brilliant and effective performers in public life, here or abroad.

longed discussion in the Economic and Social Council and certain of its sub-commissions.

At the last meeting of the General Assembly in Paris, action was taken to start new programs by the UN Organization itself, with particular reference to the making of broad surveys and the use of fellowships to permit those interested in the problems to visit other countries. At the last meeting of the Economic and Social Council, as a result of a suggestion by the United States representative, the Secretary-General was asked to review with the specialized agencies the whole field of technical assistance and to report to the Council in July as to both the potentialities and the ways and means for expansion of the work in this field.

On the side of supplying capital, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development has been giving increasing attention to development projects. It seems particularly fitted for giving assistance in connection with the broader public service projects, and funds are available for considerable work in this field whenever projects appear to the Bank to be soundly conceived and adequately prepared. However, the reports of the Bank indicate that in many countries, projects are still in vague form, and that much technical work must be done and organization perfected before capital can be used effectively.

There is also a substantial flow both of technical assistance and of capital directly from one government to another. This has been particularly true in connection with the development of colonies and dependent territories in the last 50 years.

The United States, for example, has contributed greatly to the development of government institutions and an active civil service, to education, public health, road building, and so forth, in the Philippines.

The United Kingdom has major enterprises for development in certain of its dependent territories.

There have been many co-operative programs involving technical assistance from the United States, to other American Republics—and more recently to the countries of Western Europe under the aegis of the Economic Co-operation Administration. These enterprises have varied all the way from demonstration projects in the field of agriculture and education to joint studies by technicians as to how to achieve increased productivity in coal mining.

In regard to the flow of capital, intergovernmental transactions have played a most important part in the postwar period. The United States has given substantial aid to the Philippine Republic even since its independence, and many loans made by the Export-Import Bank have been for development projects, particularly in Latin America.

In the postwar period the channel which has been least effective has been that through private organizations. For many years various types of non-profit organizations have been contributing to the development of underdeveloped areas, mostly through technical assistance, but in part through developing non-profit institutions like hospitals and colleges in other countries.

Religious groups, for example, whose activity 50 years ago related largely to the field of religious education, paralleled their increasing interest in the economic and social scene in the United States with a shift in their foreign interests to various subjects like health and basic education. Many colleges and technical schools about the world have grown out of the activity of these groups and have had much to do with developing technicians and leaders in other countries.

Other non-profit organizations, such as the Institute of International Education, for example, have long been active in international projects. The Rockefeller Foundation has spent many millions of dollars in its work abroad, ranging all the way from public health to the creation of libraries.

However, when one comes to the specific problem of industrialization, the key problem is how the vast resources of American industry and private capital can be brought into action. American industry today not only controls the greatest number of skilled technicians in the world, but it represents the greatest potential source of capital. This also is not a completely new source of development assistance. Many American enterprises are active today in foreign fields both in supplying technical advice and in actual participation in industrial enterprise.

No one can give much consideration to this problem without discovering that it requires assurances on both sides before these resources can be fully utilized. It is never a decision lightly taken to risk one's time, energy and capital in any new enterprise. The possible return must be weighed against the risk and uncertainty involved. Within the United States, many promoters' schemes never come to fruition because they cannot meet this same test. International investment involves certain extra hazards for American investors. One of the greatest uncertainties concerns future government policy in the foreign country with regard to foreign capital, particularly as to the degree to which the enterprise

US CAPITAL at work in South America. This sugar-cane plantation at Cartavio, Peru, is owned by W. R. Grace Co. and employs a US-bought tractor to lay light railway track at harvest time. The track will be moved as cane cutting progresses.

Spelling Out Point 4 *continued*

can be freely managed so as to achieve full efficiency. A second, though possibly less permanent problem, is that of the extent to which the profits, if any, can be realized in dollars.

These are problems which will have to be faced squarely by the countries which sincerely wish economic development. What assurances are they prepared to give? There is no suggestion here of special treatment but rather of non-discriminatory treatment, of a willingness to recognize that capital is useful and deserving of fair treatment, whether it comes from home or abroad.

Economic activity within any country is closely related to the existence of a system of law which establishes and defines the rights, privileges and obligations of the individual. A similar basis of understanding is important when one passes across national boundaries. The approach to this problem which has been taken by the United States is the development of Treaties of Friendship, Commerce and Navigation (UNW, October, 1948) which define on a reciprocal basis the treatment which each country will give to the citizens of the other. Treaties of this type which give assurance to foreigners as to their treatment within a country are most important in providing not only a basis for travel and trade but in defining more exactly the treatment of foreign investment. Economic progress is aided by any reduction in the number of uncertainties in the world and these treaties make it clear as to what foreign investors may expect.

The conflict that is likely to appear is in the recipient country, a conflict between the desire for development and the spirit of nationalism. Supporters of the concept of nationalism in its most extreme form should not wish and cannot expect foreign capital. In less virulent form, nationalism frequently appears in requirements all the way from the actual barring of foreign technicians to the requirement of majority national participation in all enterprises financed by foreign capital.

This problem will have to be worked out by each country in terms of its own policies, but it is important to keep in mind that for many areas industrial development will be relatively new, and the area itself will not be able to supply experienced managerial talent. It would be a tragedy if the position were taken generally that local management must be used and if this position thereby perhaps blocked the flow of capital which would provide the only means by which local management could be developed. This process also is cumulative, and over time each country as it develops will develop its own management personnel. The problem in many instances is getting started. That is where the experience from the more developed countries can be of most value.

Another difficulty may arise because of ideological notions of exploitation. Exploitation is a term which is seldom defined, and undoubtedly millions of people in every country in the world feel they are being exploited, including housewives and government officials. In many countries there are now legislative protections which establish at least minimum standards of labor conditions and wages, and it is hard to see why foreign enterprise should have to meet standards different from those required of local employers.

There also is a notion that the removal of natural resources such as minerals from any area constitutes a form of exploitation. This raises some very interesting problems of concept. A large part of the iron ore used in the United States comes from the Mesabi iron mines in Northern Minnesota. To whom does this iron ore belong, in the sense of exploitation? Certainly the workers in the Mesabi range and the citizens of the communities nearby receive only a small fraction of the ultimate value of the iron and steel products. Or is the unit of measure the State of Minnesota? Or is not perhaps the US being exploited in that a substantial fraction of these products are going to foreign countries under the ECA and other programs without any financial reimbursement to the country?

The fact is that many of these raw materials which happen to be concentrated in particular areas have value only as they are transferred to other areas, and the value is actually created in and by the distant markets. The problem is one of equitable distribution among many different groups, including capital and managerial skills necessary to bring the project to life.

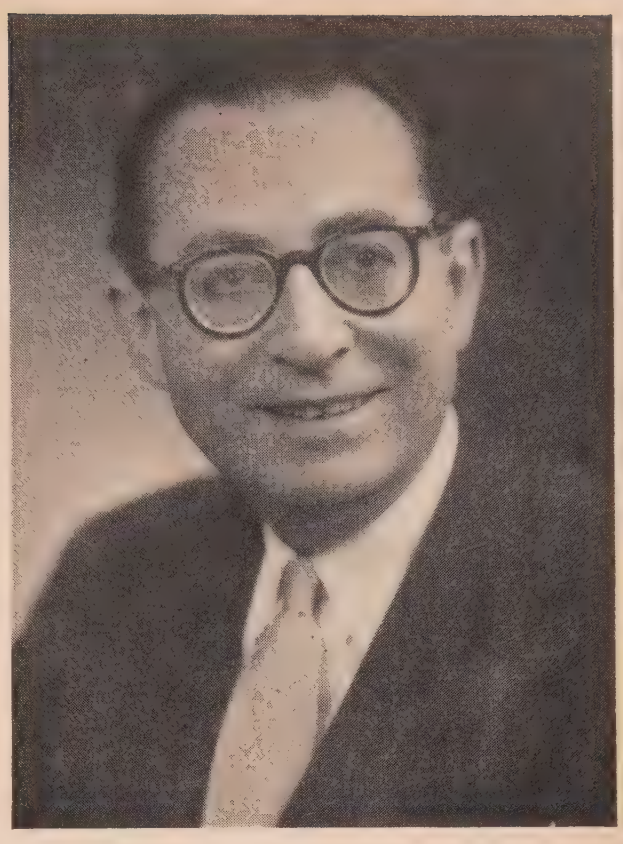
It is clear that one basic element of economic development is the creation of a proper economic climate. Economic development certainly can be achieved but it must have the right growing conditions. At the stage of industrialization, it seems likely that this can be done if it is done as it has been done in countries where the progress has been greatest in pioneering in economic development, by giving as much freedom as possible to individual initiative, drive and enthusiasm. The governments which are sincerely concerned with improving the conditions of living, will set the conditions in such a manner that these forces will work most effectively.

So far as the US Government is concerned, it is considering going even further to encourage the process. Even with the best will in the world there are certain conditions which are beyond the ability of the foreign government to assure in the way of an attractive environment. Already in connection with the European Co-operation Act, certain types of guarantees by the US Government have been made available to remove some of the uncertainties in connection with private foreign investment. It is quite possible that a program of the same general sort for many areas, though possibly more limited in scope, may be a contribution which the United States Government can make to encourage economic development.

I have emphasized the role of private industry because it can do so much to speed the process of economic development. However, I wish to repeat that the problem of economic development is not one to be solved by some simple formula or by some single program. It will require a high form of co-operation among nations and a continuing effort for many years. The importance of improved standards of living throughout the world is so great from every point of view that its support well deserves to be on the list of key policies of every government.

The US Investor's Position

By Michael A. Heilperin



■ While Mr. Thorp's article (immediately preceding) approaches the question of American financial aid abroad from the US Government standpoint, Mr. Heilperin examines it from the standpoint of the US private investor. He emphasizes that only rules which place the accent on initiative, flexibility and reward for risk can successfully encourage investments in those countries that require American funds to expand and modernize their own economies. Mr. Heilperin, author of *International Monetary Economics*, the *Trade of Nations* and other works, is Rapporteur of the Committee on Foreign Investments of the International Chamber of Commerce.

What US Capital Wants Abroad

cold-turkey talk to 'under-developed' nations

FROM THE INTERNATIONAL CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

THE American investor occupies a position of prime importance in the reconstruction of the world economy. Upon his willingness to invest abroad will depend, to a considerable extent, the speed of economic advance in many areas of the globe's 80 odd countries.

In the immediate postwar period, very large capital requirements for relief and rehabilitation were met through public channels. After the termination of lend-lease, the US Government extended sizable loans to Great Britain, France and a number of other nations for reconstruction and new construction of economies, while UNRRA continued for a time to carry out relief work largely financed through American contributions. Then came the vast and imaginative ECA program, just entering into its second year.

But, however important their role, government loans or grants cannot be depended on to provide a steady, long-range flow of investment funds from the United States to the rest of the world. The American Government is not an owner of investible funds in its own right—funds it disposes of are obtained through taxation or borrowing. People would rather pay lower taxes and make their own investments than—by paying higher taxes—enable the government to obtain funds for foreign loan programs. As soon as the present emergency is over, the American public will undoubtedly oppose further substitution of government lending for private investments.

These are some of the "facts of life" which must be emphasized in this connection, especially as they seem to have been lost sight of in many of the international debates conducted in the past few years, at the ITO Conferences and within the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations and its subcommis-

What US Capital Wants Abroad *continued*

sions. It may be useful to list them:

■ Investible funds in the United States belong overwhelmingly to private individuals, corporations and associations.

■ The US Government can secure funds only through taxation or borrowing from the public. (The extent of state enterprise is not so great as to allow the government to secure investible funds of any size through the business profits of governmental enterprise.)

■ The American public favors the continuation of private enterprise, and private foreign investments.

■ Add one more item: The American investor is in a cautious frame of mind as a result of unfortunate experiences since 1930. Nevertheless, he remains basically enterprising and venturesome.

The United States, which became a creditor country during the first world war, quickly grew to be the *leading* creditor nation, is now the *only big* creditor, and is likely to remain so for a number of years to come.

The American investor's history in foreign investment is one of enthusiasm bordering upon rashness during the twenties, serious reverses during the "great depression," and varying degrees of loss—depending on the course of the fighting and destruction —during World War II. Today, his former inclination for foreign ventures has been cooled off by a combination of factors in the present domestic and international situation. These have been very ably set forth by Wilfred Malenbaum, Chief of the Division of Investment and Economic development of the State Department:

"The reasons for this situation are clear. First, the American economy itself presents an attractive alternative to foreign investment. The opportunities for effective portfolio-type activity here are enough to keep such savings from seeking the less certain prospects of foreign states and enterprises. The nature of deterrents to investment abroad, however, are equally clear. Profitable enterprises abroad are frequently located in countries whose over-all situation results in a balance-of-payments squeeze; earnings, depreciation reserves, disinvestment cannot be converted into dollars. There are multiple exchange rates which frequently reduce the dollar equivalent of the holdings in foreign currencies. The growth of national consciousness and national pride has frequently resulted in discriminatory treatment of foreign investors. Labor legislation, tax legislation, laws on the nationality of ownership have also arbitrarily, and sometimes retroactively, worked against the American investor. Nationalization, political upheavals, and war have frequently resulted in expropriation without adequate compensation, or other unjust treatment of American and other foreign assets abroad. Finally a jittery, unstable world has in itself been an important influence in keeping American risk capital at home."

To those who think that American business is unduly timid about foreign investments, that statement of a high State Department official offers abundant rebuttal. In an attempt further to clarify this whole issue, consider the following propositions:

■ It is most unlikely that the American investor will, to any large extent, go in for the "portfolio types" of investment, that is to say, buy bonds issued by foreign governments, municipalities and enterprises. While in the twenties this used to be an important element in the capital exports from this country, *the defaults made on these loans since 1930 were very discouraging* and won't be quickly forgotten.

■ What is now, and surely will remain in the future, the most attractive method of foreign investment is direct business activity in foreign countries through the establishment of subsidiaries, branches or entirely-new companies. These can be either wholly owned by Americans or be the product of joint undertakings by American and foreign capital.

■ Direct foreign investments can be broadly divided into those which involve very large operating risks and those of a more conservative kind, though there is, of course, no sharp dividing line between the two.

■ Investments of the first kind used to be financed by so-called venture capital which, attracted by the prospects of *unusually large rewards* in case it was successful, accepted the risk of *great losses* if unsuccessful.

■ The social and political "climate" in the world is such that the promise of exceptionally large rewards on investments appears less frequent. Conseqently venture capital is definitely on the decline.

■ Some of the areas of investment previously serviced by venture capital, such as the construction of roads and railroads to open up access to new resources, may remain a proper object for intra-governmental loans.

■ With respect to foreign investments of the second, more conservative kind, it is necessary that they should, if successful, *yield somewhat better returns to the investor than those which result from investments he can make at home.* This demands an understanding and co-operative attitude on the part of governments of capital importing countries.

■ The investor is always willing to shoulder the business risks involved in his activities provided he has a reasonable expectation of reward. *What he is not willing to accept are risks of losses which result from arbitrary action by foreign governments* where that action takes the form of administrative decrees and procedures which affect the investor's ability to earn an income or freely to dispose of the income earned. Exchange control and nationalization programs are such "unacceptable" risks.

There is no doubt that in the 19th Century the interests of the investor were frequently better protected than those of the inhabitants of the country in which he operated. There remains from those days a fair amount of resentment in many places. But emancipation of dependent areas and growth of nationalisms have tended to reverse the situation, so that today it is the foreign investor who stands in need of protection.

■ So long as governments of capital-importing countries will take a grudging or outright hostile attitude towards the investor's desire to earn a profit on his investment, the latter will be disinclined to move abroad with his funds.

■ So long as there is exchange control he will want to be assured of his right to use freely the financial proceeds of his activities and, if he so desires, gradually to withdraw his investment, e.g., through the mechanism of depreciation reserves.

■ So long as the recipient country's foreign trade is controlled, the investor will want to be assured that he will be able to import the equipment and raw materials necessary for achieving the best results for the enterprise.

■ So long as there are restrictions on the movement of manpower he will want to be sure that he can bring in technicians and managers necessary to the successful operation of his business.

■ Additional risks against which he needs to be safeguarded stem from nationalization programs and the existence of non-democratic political regimes.

All of these sources of insecurity for the private investor must be eliminated in order to establish a favorable "climate" for the revival of a large and sustained flow of capital from the United States to the rest of the world.

It should be borne in mind that *foreign investment is not an exclusively financial operation.* It also involves business experience and enterprise, productive skills, technical know-how and a wealth of scientific knowledge. And, whether the project be the building of new industrial plants or the introduction of improved agricultural methods or the opening of new or the expansion of old mines, it also involves personal as well as technical values: enterprise and daring, each as important as the finances. Only *private* investments can readily provide this combination of personal and financial values; government loans are far less satisfactory, being predominantly financial. Nor can purely technical advice answer because technology doesn't function in a financial vacuum.

It needs to be stressed also that private investments are far freer from political overtones than are inter-governmental loans, while providing a much more adaptable and pliable instrument of economic progress.

It is truly remarkable how misunderstood these "facts of life" are. Witness the Havana debates of 1947-48, or the December, 1947, Report of the Sub-Committee on Economic Development of the United Nations Economic and Social Council. In view of the great importance that has justly become attached to "Point Four" of President Truman's Inaugural Address, it is most essential that the role of private foreign investment in the entire context of the economic development problems should be correctly appraised.

The stakes are very high because, even according to very conservative estimates, new private foreign investment by American investors may amount to $2 billion a year by the end of the Marshall Plan appropriations. If conditions should be very favorable, they might be considerably higher than that.

This capital, and the experience and know-how associated with it, will not, however, be forthcoming if the appropriate "climate" is not created by the governments of the capital-importing countries. It is because all this was being realized that the League of Nations went to work during the war on the problem of creating conditions for the revival of private foreign investments. Work along the lines has been continued since the end of the war by the International Chamber of Commerce. Its first published report entitled *Foreign Investments and Economic Expansion* appeared two years ago and laid down the basic requirements for a future "Code of Fair Treatment for Foreign Investments." Work on that Code has been carried ahead and it is about to be submitted by the International Chamber of Commerce to public opinion and the governments of the world in the hope that its provisions will be incorporated into bilateral and multilateral agreements between governments.

Should this be the case, ground work would be established for a revival of that much-needed confidence without which economic life cannot flourish in a free society.

The Forecast—Again—Is Peace

LOUIS DOLIVET'S ANALYSIS OF WORLD FORCES

—see page 64

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The Big Brain From Poland

Katz-Suchy—toughest Easterner, but gentle too

BY RUTH KARPF

WHEN on March 24, President Harry S. Truman cancelled his date with the UN to lay the cornerstone of its permanent headquarters in Manhattan, general reaction in Lake Success ranged from keen disappointment to pained surprise. Only Eastern Bloc delegates wore an "I-told-you-so" look. Their opinion was summed up by Juliusz Katz-Suchy, Poland's big, brainy, balding chief delegate. "Insofar as the United States is concerned," he said, "Lake Success is just a bottleneck between Great Neck and Little Neck."

The quip characterizes Katz-Suchy. First of all, it shows his realism. Second, it shows his toughness. Third, it reveals his wit—an inborn ability to coin a caustic wisecrack.

Employing these four qualities, firmly entrenched behind a barricade of what Shakespeare called "quips and sentences and paper bullets of the brain," Katz-Suchy has become the virtuoso of UN debate by invigorating the barren formalism of modern diplomacy with the dialectical skill of the European intellectual.

When he first arrived in Lake Success, in September, 1946, Katz-Suchy was completely outshone by his superior, Dr. Oscar Lange, the former Chicago University economist who "repatriated" himself to become one of the new Poland's leading diplomats. Katz-Suchy sat, innocuous, in the second row at the round tables of UN conference rooms. Or he moved, ponderous and stooping, through the modernistic glitter of the soft-carpeted delegates' lounge doing odd jobs for his boss—bending over Vyshinsky or Gromyko to discuss a knotty item on the agenda.

There is general agreement today that Katz-Suchy is one of the few genuinely impressive figures at Lake Success. He is at the same time one of the most popular. His Eastern colleagues like him for his razor-sharp repartee and the factual backing he gives to arguments advanced by the bloc. The diplomats of the West regard him highly as the sole representative of his camp whom they can talk *with*, not merely *to*. He is particularly popular with the press.

A few weeks ago a Secretariat official needed a Polish document that was not available through regular UN channels. He asked Katz-Suchy for it and the Polish diplomat volunteered to bring his own copy from his files in town. That same afternoon, the UN official was sent to Washington. Two days later in the delegates' lounge Katz-Suchy broke away from a group of diplomats, accosted his Secretariat friend and handed him the document. "I thought you might have been ill or something," he said. "So I kept the paper on me."

But neither popularity nor his mounting success satisfies Katz-Suchy. The fact is that his big, burly frame and slow-motion placidity conceal a complex personality. On the purely personal level, and despite a Bohemian streak, he dislikes the uprooted, unsettled existence that diplomatic life involves. He yearns for the quiet life he and his family could live in a cold-water flat in devastated Warsaw, while here he must maintain a pretentious Park Avenue duplex penthouse, and rush home after a long day's work to change into starched shirt and black tie. His 9-year-old daughter Erika has to switch schools almost every year and his wife Elzbieta, a competent and eager physician, cannot practice in the US. Above all, he told me, he regrets that his work leaves him too little time to get acquainted with people.

On the professional level, too, Katz-Suchy reveals a muted dissatisfaction. The task of arguing the Marxist line before the highest international forum may satisfy his intellect, but there is another Katz-Suchy:

AT 37, JULIUSZ KATZ-SUCHY HAS BEEN A COMMUNIST FOR 22 YEARS

the emotional pleader with a keen creative urge that is left singularly ungratified in Lake Success.

He feels very strongly that the United Nations is victimized in the bitter East-West controversy. He feels, as Roosevelt and Stalin felt before him, that the UN must be a vehicle for Russo-American co-operation before it can become anything else. If, beyond the tirades and charades of the cold war, it will ever become a common ground, it will prove the most effective force man has ever created for his own benefit. And that, Katz-Suchy believes, could be achieved without changing a word in the Charter. "There is nothing wrong with the UN Charter that adherence to it wouldn't cure," he said. "There is nothing wrong with its structure that good will couldn't iron out."

Katz-Suchy is, consequently, gnawed by the futility of his task. Even the major achievements of the UN within its specialized agencies depress rather than encourage him. "They merely show up how immensely much more could be done if the UN would be what its framers envisaged it to become—the US and the USSR working together for the benefit of mankind."

Despite his personal disillusionment he realizes that he has no chance whatever of being ordered home. Out-voted but never out-argued, he feels that the cards are as completely stacked against the countries of the Eastern Bloc today as they will ever be. Despite that, he indicates, these nations are determined to stick it out in the United Nations because they believe:

■ That the United Nations is still the best, and now almost the only remaining platform on which East and West can get together and talk things over.

■ That their presence in the international organization can still prevent developments which they regard as dangerous—such as the shelving of the Atomic Energy Commission, the admission of Franco Spain, or the Anglo-Arab attempt to sabotage the UN's Palestine recommendations.

■ That from the platform of Lake Success and Flushing Meadow they can reach the peoples of the world over the heads of their governments.

The last is probably the determining factor. They seem to be genuinely convinced that sooner or later most of the world will come around to their way of thinking. That is why Katz-Suchy, when referring to the Western Bloc within the UN, speaks of "the *present* majority."

Juliusz Katz-Suchy was born in 1912, in a village in the Carpathian mountains. His father was one of those typical Polish small merchants who though resigned to their own insecure existence dream always of better lives for their children. The family had to forego many minor luxuries to put the son through *Gymnasium* and college. Young Juliusz was still in the *Gymnasium* when, at the age of 15, he became an active Communist.

After his graduation in 1932 from Warsaw University, where he studied political science and law, he devoted full time to writing, speaking and organizing. From then on he lived a hunted life, constantly on the run, in and out of jail a dozen times. He wrote and lived under a strange set of aliases. Suchy is one of them—the one that has become such a part of his life that he decided to keep it for good when he finally emerged into legality.

By 1938, things had grown so hot that, one moonless night, he crossed into Czechoslovakia and stayed until the Nazis came in the wake of Munich. He met his wife there, a medical student and political refugee like himself. When the day came that they had to flee again, they had to go separately through the "underground railway." They had no papers and no hopes of meeting again. But they did, in blitzed London.

They both went to work in a textile factory. Juliusz was a scourer, a carbonizer and what is called a "teaser" in the trade—a simple skill far different from his present preoccupation which might pass under a similar name. His wife was a weaver, taking time out only to bear Erika. They now have a second daughter, Barbara, 3.

The Big Brain from Poland *continued*

"I learned a lot in England," Katz-Suchy told me. He learned what their tradition means, "the stuff of which the British worker is made. He worked and fought without apparent passion, and without a let-up. He took the rations, the Blitz and the buzz-bombs without talking too much about them." Working in the textile plants, in the union halls, and later as foreman in a precision tool factory, Katz-Suchy developed a warm personal admiration for the people of Britain.

It makes it difficult for him now, it seems to me, to say "Anglo-American" with quite the same glib contempt as some of his colleagues do.

When he became a foreman and no longer eligible for union membership, he used his off hours to get out a left-wing journal for Polish soldiers and refugees and to organize meetings of the Polish left.

The Lublin government, when it began to function as the Committee of National Liberation, appointed him Deputy Chief of its official news agency, *Polpress*, a job he exchanged for that of press attaché at the Polish Embassy in London in 1945.

At the end of that year he was called to Warsaw for consultation. There he was drafted as Counselor to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and shortly afterward became Acting Chief of the British Division. He has been in diplomatic service ever since.

He first attracted international attention by the way in which he drove his colleagues to action in the Special Palestine Sub-Committee of the General Assembly's Political Committee in the fall of 1947. Many people still think that without his co-ordinating skill and persuasive drive, the Palestine issue could not have been reported out to the floor for action by the General Assembly.

On January 1, 1948, Dr. Lange returned to Poland and Katz-Suchy succeeded him as Permanent Representative at the United Nations. The personal rank of Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary went with the position. A job as Alternate Representative to the Economic and Social Council was thrown in for good measure.

Behind the glitter of these titles lies a very tough grind. Katz-Suchy's normal working day is 18 to 20 hours, seven days a week. There are nights when he does not go to bed at all. Returning from a late meeting, or a diplomatic dinner, he goes straight to his office and reads and dictates until, long after dawn, the corner barber shop opens.

Then, after a bath, a shave and some coffee, Diplomat Katz-Sachy sets off for Lake Success.

In those long nights of thinking and writing, Katz-Suchy has changed. People who have observed him since his freshman days say that it has almost been possible to watch him grow in stature as weeks and issues and sessions went by. "Today," one of his bitterest political—though not personal — opponents, Chilean delegate Hernan de Santa Cruz said, "his words carry weight."

Sometimes they "carry weight" by their sheer, calculated toughness. A few weeks ago, during the closing days of the Economic and Social Council session at Lake Success, a sample of his tough talk provoked a dramatic walk-out. American delegate Leroy D. Stinebower was so offended by what Katz-Suchy said about General John R. Hodge that he picked up his papers and stalked out of the debate on Korea.

A SPECIALIST IN SHARP TALK

During the Paris session of the Third Assembly, Katz-Suchy prefaced an answer to a speech by John Foster Dulles with the words: "I think I am safe in assuming that *today* the gentleman from the United States speaks purely as a private individual." It was the morning after the Presidential elections—November 3, 1948.

Katz-Suchy is surprisingly articulate in his adopted diplomatic language—English, which he uses with great rhetorical skill. He often sparks his Marxist thoughts with Shakespearean quotations and his economic statistics with French *bon mots*. His polemic wit is the steady undercurrent of his speeches. Sometimes it makes them irritating. More often entertaining.

Katz-Suchy looks like an NYU philosophy professor who was the football eleven not so long ag A six footer, broad-shouldered a powerfully built, he stoops slight clings to his glasses. He wears da conventional suits with simple ti and doesn't always wait for the c ner barber shop to open.

His personality is reflected in h office in town. The furniture has t "I-really-can't-be-bothered" look his dress. But there are little thing handpicked and typical of the ma There is a watercolor of Warsa with busy one-story buildings ma of odd pieces of brick, impressive dominating the massive ruins behin them. The picture is by one of Kat Suchy's friends, the painter Rim Sturm de Sztren. There, too, is little Christmas tree still hung wit the cobweb of silver lamé and tin colored bulbs. He keeps it ther atop the safe of his top-secret file because his staff gave it to him. handsome handwoven Polish ru decorates the wall. There is a quain 16th century map of Poland, th picture of President Bierut and a autographed portrait of Foreig Minister Zygmunt Modzelewski. I the waiting room there is a lithograp of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Watching him at work in thi diplomatic cell, you get an insigh into Katz-Suchy — in the way h tears open an envelope with a quick rough, almost avaricious move o his hands, only to smooth out th letter with careful, sensitive fingers Just, so, the tough, passionate way he speaks his mind extemporaneously is contrasted by the painstaking care he gives to formal speeches.

There are really two Katz-Suchy's in everything he does: the tough, untiring fighter, the roughneck diplomat of the post-war world, and the warm, considerate educator whose chief concern is the welfare of people—all kinds of people.

His friend, Foreign Minister Modzelewski, seems to be conscious of this dualism and determined to make the most of it. On his last visit to Warsaw, Katz-Suchy complained that it was virtually impossible for him to cope with all his responsibilities in New York. Modzelewski waved him off:

"I'm afraid, Juliusz, there's nothing I can do about it just now. The only thing you can do is to let Suchy take care of what Katz can't."

General Assembly

SECOND PART opening was marked by a strong-minded harangue from President Evatt who turned the tables on UN critics by pointing out that its failures—real and pregnant with danger—were but the faults of its sovereign members. After this unanticipated spanking, the foreign ministers of the Atlantic Pact states who had attended *pro forma*—Bevin under pressure—went home and left the anticipated boredom of the continuing East-West debate to their delegations. Surprise: Not all the votes followed the old, worn groove.

RELIGION was the first stick used to belabor the Soviet group. As a result, full debate will be held on Hungary's trial and conviction of Cardinal Mindszenty and other Catholics and Bulgaria's 15 Protestants—charges being treason, dealing in American ideas and/or dollars, and related activities. Significant element: Twenty states which ordinarily go along with Western attacks abstained altogether from the 30-7 vote. Mystery element: that seventh vote. Nobody will tell who cast it.

INDONESIA'S inclusion on the GA agenda was accomplished 41-3, with 12 oddly assorted abstentions. Only Belgium and South Africa (both also under fire for treatment of non-self-governing peoples) voted with Holland against debating Indonesian independence. The US, UK and France all had lent Netherlands support on earlier votes, but when the chips were down joined Russia and China in demanding a full hearing.

POLICEMEN, non-existent, were buffeted by another E-W wrangle. In this one, curiously, France sided with the USSR. The suggestion, that an 800-man force be recruited to protect UN missions, roused Soviet accusations that the unborn force would act as an armed stooge serving "US interests." A second objection—weakened by USSR acquiescence in enlistment of the HQ force of 74 already on duty and of a special force last year for the Palestine mission—was that the GA, by establishing such a force, would infringe on Security Council prerogatives. France's objection was technical and based largely on cost. Outcome: A 41-6 vote with 3 abstentions (Argentina, France, Yemen) set up a committee of 14 to study the proposal and report to the next GA.

ITALIAN COLONIES are a long-gnawed bone of contention. Debate took up in the Political Committee where it had left off last fall in the Steering Committee on the future of Libya, Eritrea and Italian Somaliland. US, UK and France are for dividing them up—with the UN's blessing and Italy's tearful acquiescence. The Italians would rather see their former holdings divided as the West suggests among Ethiopia, UK, France—and Italy—than be put under a UN trusteeship with a time-limit guarantee on independence, as Russia proposes.

Libya for instance, which the Westerners would divide piecemeal into UK, French and Italian trusteeships, would be kept intact under a Trusteeship Council Administrator and, as the most advanced of the lot, be assured of independence in 10 years. Under the Western proposals, which otherwise differed on some points, Ethiopia would get Eastern Eritrea; under the Eastern, it would control Assab, the Red Sea port which it so urgently needs, but not the region around it. The record isn't in yet on how those most concerned, the ex-Italian colonials feel. A subcommittee of 11 is now screening those who would speak for them.

THE BALKANS: The UN Special Committee on the Balkans keeps trying for a peaceful settlement between Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Albania on one side and Greece on the other. Results to date: slight. In early April revived guerrillas retook Grammos Mountain regions from the royal army. Bulgaria and Albania remain openly at loggerheads with Greece; in turn, are accused of fostering rebel action. Yugoslavia, scorned by her former allies, apparently miffed by the removal of Markos as Greek Communist leader, has played little part in recent recriminations.

ISRAEL received on April 13 what it felt to be the UNkindest cut of all. Expecting easy and immediate acceptance of its membership application, it was sidetracked 31-18 with 7 abstentions to the Political Committee where it will face charges of nationalistic overbullience in three cases: (1) failure to punish assassins of UN Mediator Count Folke Bernadotte; (2) dispossession of, and reluctance to welcome back, some 600,000 Arabs; (3) open disregard for the UN decision to internationalize Jerusalem.

Security Council

PALESTINE: The war is over. Following the example of Egypt, Transjordan and Lebanon have now signed armistice agreements with Israel under the brilliant encouragement of Acting Mediator Ralph Bunche. Syria, upset by a military coup which ousted its civilian administration, has indicated intention to follow suit. Even before it does, however, Israeli, Arabs and the UN's three-man Conciliation Commission may already be planning a mutual friendly future in a conference scheduled to be under way by May 1.

MEMBERSHIP: Rebuffs for Korea (the southern half) and Liechtenstein (all 65 square miles of it). USSR said "puppet" and vetoed a UN seat for Korea; with Ukrainian SSR, it said "not independent" but did not threaten to veto Liechtenstein's adherence to the International Court of Justice. Both did, however, abstain from the Council decision—to postpone decision while a committee of experts studies the matter.

INDONESIA: Marking time until the General Assembly debates its case, the Republic sat down with UN Commission and Netherlands representatives in mid-April at Batavia. At the same time, Republican spokesmen to the UN did not retract declarations that there could be no negotiation with the Dutch until their capital, Jogjakarta, was restored and their leaders released.

KASHMIR: Titles flourish and grow long in India. A new one: UN Plebiscite Administrator for Jammu and Kashmir, Admiral Chester W. Nimitz. The former US Naval C.-in-C. will organize and conduct the balloting by which Kashmir will decide whether to be part of India or Pakistan. His work will begin once the present cease-fire is converted into a permanent truce agreement.

Specialized Agencies

WHO: The Terai, a region of fertile foodland in Northern India, along the Himalayan foothills, is virtually an uninhabited jungle. Reason: Its few inhabitants are sickly folk and its mountain pools produce clouds of hungry mosquitoes. Their bite inflicts a dread fever which Indians call *ahwal* and physicians know to be a particularly virulent form of malaria. Consequence: WHO and UNICEF will soon help launch a malaria control program in the region. These two agencies are currently co-operating on similar projects in Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria.

ICAO: Surcease from nail-biting: New air travel rules to reduce international entrance and exit requirements and standardize forms to be filled out at airports, will go into effect on March 1, 1950, unless a majority of ICAO's 51 members disapprove.

INTERNATIONAL BANK: Egypt is angling for loans to finance economic development. The Bank now has a mission in Egypt looking over proposals. Best prospect: an irrigation project to water 250,000 acres.

UNESCO: New broom, Director General Jaime Torres Bodet, announces a system of priorities for his agency, in support of UN plans to assist underdeveloped regions. At the top: aid for states fighting illiteracy; aid for experimental work in fundamental education; programs to stimulate interest and research in problems of underdeveloped areas; surveys of press, film and radio needs in these areas and scholarships for their students.

An Editorial—BY LOUIS DOLIVET
UNW's International Editor

The Forecast—Peace

Again as a year ago this spring

ONCE again, as last year at this same time, spring has brought war fever, war talk and war fear. Everywhere on earth, men ask with anxiety in their eyes, "Will there be another war?—and what will happen to me?"—to my family?—my country?"*

Never before has all humanity lived for so long a period of time such terrible uncertainty. This deep, underlying dread is itself perilous, for no happy society can be built on, or in, fear.

■ It is impossible to rebuild Europe economically, socially and morally without the prospect of long-lasting peace.

■ It is impossible to solve any of the urgent problems in Asia without knowing whether the lands and islands of that vast continent will be among the battlegrounds of tomorrow; or whether the products and the know-how of modern industry will be brought to the billion inhabitants of Asia who have waited so long for a better life.

■ The future of the Soviet regime itself depends on the assurance of peace. There can be no illusion in the mind of even the most fervent Marxist that an ideal socialist society can develop under the constant threat of war.

■ The welfare of the US, with all its wealth, likewise depends on stability. Without it long-range plans cannot be made for full use of America's gigantic production machinery and its 60 million workers.

Whether there will be war or peace is a question that troubles the days of every living human being.

Once again, as last year (UNW, May, June, August, November, 1948), we conferred in off-the-record sessions with diplomats and statesmen of all the world, weighing with them the military, economic and psychological influences. Once again we answer that to the best of our knowledge—*there is no immediate danger of war.*

War could start only by an open act of violence or invasion by either the USSR or the US. Whatever one may think of the ultimate goal or intentions of either nation, there can be no doubt that governments and people of both are extremely anxious to avoid the open responsibility for war that overt invasion would entail.

Soviet strategy calls mainly for political rather than military action. It is based on the assumption that economic conditions and the ensuing political balance within a country, determines the stability or shakiness of a regime. War-mongering, according to Soviet doctrine, is the supreme betrayal of mankind. Communists know that their advocacy of peace in 1917 was a key element in their victory, and thus for the very emergence of the Soviet state.

Therefore, the Soviet Union cannot, without denying its own dogma, take the risk of beginning a new world war. To do so would concentrate against Russia the hatred of the majority of mankind. What the Soviet Union plans to do and is doing is to promote the communist ideology, to point up difficulties, to exploit rivalries, colonialism, economic crises—*and then act when there is no longer a regime left to be overthrown, or when the regime has been so riven by internal conflicts that it is no longer able to resist.*

The US strategy, on the other hand, is dictated by considerations of defense. It could even be argued that the present internationalist trend in this once-isolationist country is the result not so much of a conviction of the oneness of the world as of the absolute necessity of the US to co-operate with other nations against aggression *in order to survive.* While the overwhelming majority of the American people are by temperament and ideology, bitterly opposed to the Soviet system, none but a few fanatics support the idea of a war to exterminate the Soviet system. Moreover, the American people are not easily roused to war. In both world wars it took acts of overt hostile action to make them fight.

Therefore it can be assumed safely that the US will not invade any other nation, that it will act only in case of an overt act of aggression against a nation of the Atlantic community or another independent nation whose control by the Soviets might endanger the US.

Looking realistically at the map of the world, one cannot find a single country in which the Soviets could act with the certainty that their action would not provoke a new world war. The only two doubtful cases are Finland and Yugoslavia where, however, the inconveniences of aggression would be so considerable that most political observers eliminate the likelihood of open aggression.

The immediate prospects, then, are for peace. It is, and will be, an uneasy peace. But while peace obtains, hope survives. While hope lives, peace can be strengthened. Humanity can, and must, do that. Public opinion must demonstrate its will that the governments renew their once-declared determination to work in concert—in unanimity even—to promote peace. The machinery exists in the UN to settle all problems without war. It must be used. It will be used if the people insist.

*See "Eye Witness Report From Moscow" by Gunnar Fagrell, page 18.